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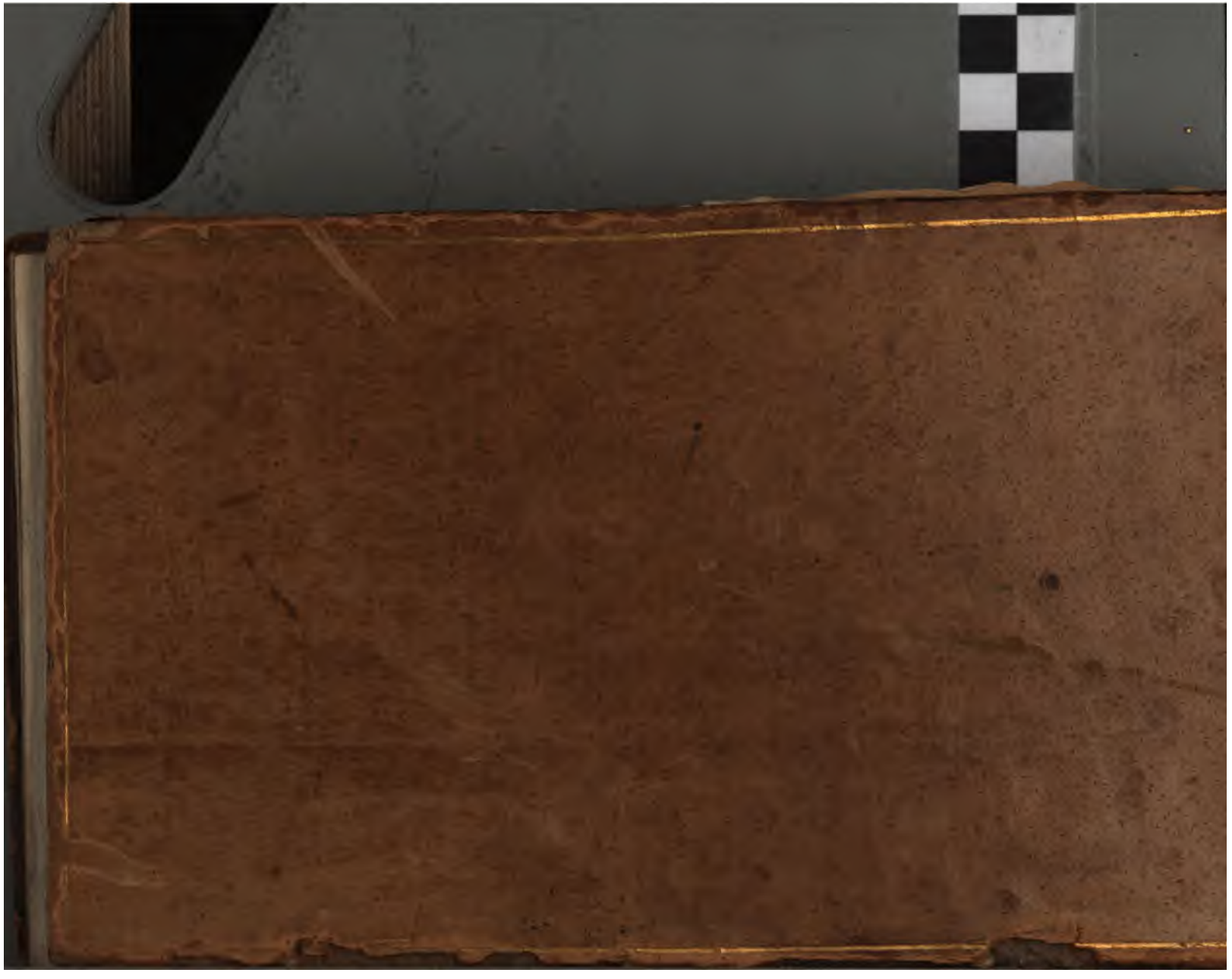

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

HOLLAND,
FLANDERS,
GERMANY,
DENMARK,
SWEDEN,

LAPLAND,
RUSSIA,
The UKRAINE,
AND
POLAND,

IN

The Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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In which is particularly Minuted,

THE PRESENT STATE

OF

THOSE COUNTRIES,

RESPECTING THEIR

AGRICULTURE, POPULATION,
MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,
THE ARTS, AND USEFUL UNDERTAKINGS.

By JOSEPH MARSHALL, Esq.

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PREFACE.

THE number of travels which have been lately publiſhed in England, France, and Germany, render an apology neceſſary for adding one more to the liſt; and this I flatter myſelf will be beſt done, by ſetting forth the deſign of my taking a journey through the northern parts of Europe, of above ſeven thouſand miles; and by explaining the objects to which I particularly attended.

About eleven years ago, I went the uſual tour of Europe, which is reckoned, though very falſely, a finiſhing of education: I then viſited France, Italy, part of Spain, and ſome territories in Germany, running very eagerly after every thing produced by the fine arts, and thinking that painting, ſtatuary, muſic, and the like, were the only objects worthy of notice. The purſuit, however, of a young traveller is uſually pleaſure, and the acquiſition of that ſort of knowledge, which will beſt enable him to ſhine in common converſation: but a purſuit of this kind will never be of real value; and I ſoon

found that I had ſpent much time, money, and attention, in order to return home, judiciouſly ſpeaking, as ignorant as I went out. Reflection convinced me that there were numerous objects highly deſerving attention in every country which I had paſſed by without notice; and I regretted a journey performed in the rawneſs of youth, which afforded me ſo little inſtruction.

A family loſs, which filled me with a melancholy I cannot yet wear off, determined me again to quit England, and ſeek for that amuſement in travelling, which my own country I found would not afford. But as I had been through the ſouthern parts of Europe, where, indeed, every thing has been often and well deſcribed, and as ſuch anticipated idea would be abſolutely deſtructive of that novelty I ſought by way of diſſipation; I determined to ſpend ſome years in journeying through the Northern Parts, which would probably preſent me with a new world; the accounts I had read of moſt of them, being either very imperfect, or ſo old, that every thing might be altered ſince the authors wrote, ſo that I ran no riſque of knowing too much before I ſet out.

With this intention I embarked for Holland, and ſpent ſome time in examining every

every thing worthy of attention in all the the provinces of the Dutch republic, which I will venture to aſſert, contain more that is worthy of a traveller's attention, provided he is ſomething more than two and twenty, than any part of Italy. I had the good fortune to procure ſome very valuable intelligence there, by means of letters of recommendation I carried with me from England. I began my travels with viewing and enquiring into objects of more ſolidity and uſe, than I had ever thought of when abroad before; the ſtate of the Dutch trade and manufactures, the value and products of their lands, &c. demanded, and had my attention. From my firſt landing, I determined to keep a journal of every thing I ſaw or heard, as well for employing many idle hours, which I knew I muſt have, as for the ſake of retaining the information which I hoped to procure. With the ſame view, I inſerted a tranſlation of a paper or two publiſhed in Holland lately, upon their trade, yet with no deſign of publiſhing any thing myſelf. Afterwards, upon reviſing my manuſcript, I let them keep their place, becauſe they are ſhort, and have not been tranſlated before.

Flanders I viſited next, and was much ſtruck with the great exertions of good huſ-

bandry I met with; all which I minuted as accurately as a perſon is able to do, who has not practiſed the art.

I paſſed through the northern part of Germany, and found ſeveral particulars, even in the dreary tract of Weſtphalia, that were inſtructive. In Holſtein, I made ſome obſervations on the management of certain lands, which I thought deſerved attention.

In Denmark, I was very fortunate in meeting, accidentally, with a nobleman, whoſe great works in improving the agriculture of an extenſive eſtate, eſtabliſhing manufactures, bringing commerce to a port, and peopling a country, ought to render his name immortal; by his means alſo, I gained recommendations to ſome perſons of conſequence at Copenhagen, and even in Sweden.

I traverſed that very extenſive kingdom, and did not find the moſt mountainous provinces barren of inſtruction: I have recorded many undertakings there of individuals, which do them no ſlight honour, and found ſeveral practices among the peaſants, which may be of ſervice even to Engliſh farmers.

Ruſſia afforded me much greater information, reſpecting the preſent ſtate of the revenues, forces, power, &c. of that great empire, than I could have gained if I had not tra-

travelled through it. I believe the reader will find ſeveral circumſtances of the manner and devaſtation of the Turkiſh war, more particularly treated here than in many other books. The Ukraine, I found a moſt fertile field of excellent huſbandry; and entirely different, from the idea I had formed of a Tartar territory from the books which mention that country.

The diſtracted ſtate of Poland, allowed me no other opportunity, than to deſcribe and explain its wretched ſituation.

My journey through the dominions of his Pruſſian Majeſty and the Empreſs Queen, brought me much better acquainted with the ſtate the laſt war left them in, and their abilities for engaging in another, or any other enterprize, than I could have gained by reading any books that have been publiſhed concerning them, of which there are ſome in Germany, and ſeveral in Holland.

It is but ſeldom that I have afforded any pages to paintings, and never unleſs the printed accounts are very erroneous. I have not given much attention to buildings, tho' I thought it proper not entirely to overlook them, as they are in ſome countries proofs of the political ſtate being in good order. But I have never omitted any opportunities of

making obſervations on the ſtate of the people, in every country I paſſed through; and diſcovering to what cauſes their happineſs or their miſery were owing: as alſo on the experiments and improvements in agriculture; on the ſtate of manufactures, and the progreſs of commerce: theſe objects I thought much ſuperior to others, and the more ſo as they have in general been almoſt entirely omitted by other travellers.

There is one circumſtance which it is neceſſary I ſhould explain: weights, coins, and meaſures, gave me infinite trouble. In the rough minutes I took as I travelled, all the foreign terms of this ſort were retained, but I found my journal abſolutely unintelligible to any body that was not extremely well verſed in the proportions of this ſort, between different kingdoms; this induced me to go very regularly through the whole, and reduce all to Engliſh weight and meaſure, which I effected throughout the whole journey, ſo that now every thing will be intelligible; whereas, had I informed the reader, that in Poland wheat yields five *crutks* to the *buſching*, it would be attended with no more uſe, than if I gave the meaſures of the moon. I have therefore ſtruck out foreign terms of this ſort, and given the proportions as near

as

as I could poſſibly calculate them, in Engliſh.

Making every where ſuch numerous enquiries into the ſtate of agriculture, &c. was the occaſion of my putting myſelf to the great trouble and expence of an interpreter, that I might be able to aſk any queſtions I wanted, and underſtand the anſwers that were given me. I found this was a precaution abſolutely neceſſary in an undertaking ſuch as I embarked in, and which no perſon will be able to diſpenſe with, that ever attempts to travel upon ſuch a plan.

I ſhall now take my leave of the reader for the preſent, with only obſerving, that I have not been induced to make public this journal, by the requeſt of friends, or any ſuch motive, and therefore I think it would be diſingenuous to pretend to it. Upon examining and reflecting on the plan I had laid down to myſelf, I thought a diligent execution of it would make me maſter of much uſeful knowledge, which I could not get from books; and after I had executed it, I thought (however I may have failed in many points) that the papers might be of uſe to others as well as to myſelf, and therefore determined to make them public.

I muſt requeſt the reader to peruſe them with candour, and remember that it is with much difficulty, and no ſlight labour, that I have collected them; under which circumſtances, I hope he will pardon thoſe errors and omiſſions, which I had it not in my power to prevent.

Travels

Travels through Holland.

CHAP. I.

Paſſage from Harwich to Helvoet—From Helvoet to Rotterdam—Obſervations on the Country and Method of travelling.—Deſcription of Rotterdam.

APRIL the 6th, 1768, I embarked on board the King George packet, at Harwich; and, after a paſſage, neither good nor bad, as the ſeamen informed us, landed the 8th, in the evening, at Helvoetſluys. I had been informed that the expences were under a regulation, and did not exceed a guinea each perſon; but mine roſe, I ſuppoſe, through impoſition, to three pounds eighteen ſhillings for myſelf and ſervant. When a man travels, he ſhould always expect to find his expences run higher than the account he receives; ſuch an idea is a precaution that will prevent his falling into inconveniences; and what is of equal importance to the agreeableneſs of a journey, will keep him from inceſſant quarrels and petty diſputes with the lower

lower ſort of the natives of the countries through which he travels; from which, too many perſons have dealt in very large abuſe of whole nations.

I was very fortunate during my paſſage to meet with an Engliſh gentleman, who had been ſeveral times in Holland; he gave me many cautions for conducting myſelf during my ſtay in the Provinces, which I apprehend will prove uſeful to me; he appeared, however, rather too great an œconomiſt; for if he is not peculiarly ſaving, I am to expect nothing leſs than being fleeced unmercifully; and if I make any reſiſtance, am to look only for a brutal ſuperiority, not only from the inferior magiſtrates, but alſo from every common fellow I have a diſpute with: I never was full of an idea of Dutch politeneſs, but theſe opinions, I think, cannot be very well founded.

Helvoet has the appearance of a little dirty fiſhing town: the cleanlineſs of the Dutch is very famous, but I have ſeen few marks of it there. The harbour is excellent, from its depth and ſecurity; the States generally have ſeveral men of war here ready for ſervice: I obſerved ſix ſhips, five of them large; one was of 80 guns, one of 70, three of 60, and one of 40. I made enquiries concerning their

fleet

fleet in general, and was told that their High Mightineſſes had powerful ſquadrons elſewhere. The fortifications appear to be conſiderable.

It was in the evening when I landed, ſo I had my firſt ſpecimen at Helvoet of a Dutch Inn; they gave me fiſh extremely well dreſſed in the Engliſh manner, were civil, and though not cheap in the bill, by no means extravagant; the bed was not a good one, but I did not lay my account with meeting them ſo good in general in Holland as at home. I found no difficulty in being underſtood in French, but when I wanted to put queſtions to any people I met, my man was ſomething of an interpreter, having a ſmattering of Dutch, which indeed was the beſt part of his character, and for which I hired him in London.

Next morning, the 9th, I ordered a chaiſe to carry me to Briel, but was told there was only one in the town, and that gone another way towards Dordrecht. What other conveyance is there? A poſt waggon, Sir. Very good; I will ſee this waggon: Where is it? Gone, Sir, at eight o'clock. When does it go again? To-morrow morning at the ſame hour. This was very unpleaſant news, for the weather was not fairly agreeable, and

the

the matter ended in walking to Briel. I left my baggage to come by the firſt conveyance directly to Rotterdam.

From Helvoet to Briel is between five and ſix miles Engliſh, through a country not agreeable; much of the road bad and ſandy. I obſerved two ploughs at work, each drawn by ſix oxen; the tillage they gave was very incomplete; they deſigned the land for barley, for which grain it ſeemed by no means in order: They uſed wheel ploughs, which were not ſo heavy as the draft would make one think.

Briel, as well as Helvoet, ſtands in an iſland, which the Dutch call Voorn, though the principal town in it. It is but a poor fiſhing place. The fortifications render it in reputation very ſtrong; but the fineſt object is the river Maeſe at high water, which is a mile and half over; trade ſeems to ſtagnate through the neighbourhood of this flouriſhing town of Rotterdam. The air all round Briel, and indeed through the whole iſland, is thick and foggy; and yet, as if to add to the ſtagnation of it, they have planted the town full of trees, which are in rows in the ſtreets, inſtead of poſts: This ſeems very preposterous. I dined at the City of Amſterdam, which is the principal inn; had extreme

treme fine ſoals, chickens, and oyſter ſauce, with ſeveral plates of greens ſtewed, though not in greaſe, and a bottle of claret; and the bill for myſelf and ſervant came to nine florins, or fifteen ſhillings Engliſh; here let me obſerve, that a florin, or guilder, is twenty pence Engliſh, and a ſtiver ſomething better than a penny; twenty ſtivers make one florin. The inn, and the accommodation, appears from a tranſitory view to be tolerable, but not equal to what I expected from the Engliſh ones. My landlord was ſurprized I ſhould take Rotterdam in my way to the Hague; aſſured me, that travellers uſually croſſed from Briel to Maeſlandſluys, and thence to Delft, and Leyden; but as I purpoſed taking another route ſouthwards to Flanders, I ſilenced Minheer with my reaſons.

From Briel I took my paſſage in a regular ſailing boat, the diſtance twelve Engliſh miles, which it performed in two hours and an half; I paid eight ſtivers for myſelf, and as much for the ſervant. This is travelling in a very cheap, and not a diſagreeable manner, except the circumſtance of uſing a cabbin in common, with whatſoever company may happen to take places; on many occaſions this muſt be odious. We paſſed Maeſland-

ſluys

ſluys and Schiedam; the banks of the Maeſe do not give one any great idea of the country.

At Rotterdam I arrived late in the evening, and fixed my quarters at the Engliſh inn on Gelders-quay; here I met with good rooms, excellent proviſions, and a civil Engliſh landlord; I informed him of my deſign of ſtaying ſome days in the city, requeſting that I might be treated in a fair manner, proportioned to the money I ſpent at his houſe, naming Mr. Godewynus Zaayman, a merchant, well known in Rotterdam, and of conſiderable wealth, to whom I had letters of recommendation; intimating, that I ſhould appeal to him, in caſe of receiving any improper treatment: he replied, I ſhould find his houſe equal to any in England, that he had for his cuſtomers the beſt gentry that took the tour of Holland. I took the firſt opportunity of waiting on M. Zaayman, and found him extremely friendly and polite; he preſſed me much to take my quarters at his houſe, from which I excuſed myſelf, on ſeveral accounts; but I dined twice or thrice with him during my ſtay, and viſited him often at other honrs; he introduced me to ſeveral perſons, from whom I received civilities. M. Zaayman gave me much intelligence concerning the preſent ſtate of Holnd,

land, in ſeveral points, relative to trade and manufactures, that I had made memorandums to enquire after, which he did in a manner that ſhewed at once his readineſs to oblige me, and his excellent and penetrating underſtanding.

Rotterdam is a large city, very populous, and elegantly ſituated for trade; it is ſecond to Amſterdam alone, coming nearer to that famous emporium of trade than any port in England does to London. The Maeſe here is a very noble river; and canals are cut from it through every part of the city, which are ſo deep and broad, that ſhips of above 300 tons load and unload directly into the quays, and into the warehouſes on the banks. The ſides of many of the canals are planted with tall trees, which united with the maſts and flags of the ſhipping, and the houſes too, form a ſpectacle that ſtrikes one with its oddity: I had not ſeen any thing like it.

I was informed that this city had in every inſtance but one, the advandage of Amſterdam, ſhips of large burthen cannot go up to the latter, but are forced to unload. Both the Maeſe and the Texel are frozen in winter; but in hard ſeaſons, the former has the ice broken much ſooner, which is a great advantage in trade; add to this, that the

country about Rotterdam, is, as they aſſert, far more pleaſant, the air more healthy, and the water better than at Amſterdam; but the bank of Amſterdam, and its being the ſeat of commercial government, overcomes all theſe ſuperiorities, and gives it incomparably the greateſt trade.

Nine tenths of the Britiſh trade with the United Provinces centers at this place; which is owing to the advantages of the ſituation; many ſhip-loads of goods, conſigned for Amſterdam, are ſent hither, and go by canals to that city: two or three hundred ſail of Britiſh veſſels are ſometimes in the harbour at once. There is alſo a conſiderable ſhare of the Eaſt India trade here, with very great magazines of thoſe goods; and a glaſs manufactory, which only works for the Eaſt India ſhips: I ſaw in it a vaſt quantity of toys done in enamel, bowls, cups, ſaucers, plates, figures, &c. many of which were in a groteſque ſtile, and well executed; theſe, they told me met with a ready ſale in the iſlands depending on the Dutch empire in that region.

Several of the ſtreets are very ſpacious and well built. Heeren-ſtreet is the fineſt. The houſes are built of hewn ſtone; but the Boompies is more agreeable, lying along the Maeſe,

Maeſe, the length more than half a mile: It ſeems like a vaſt quay, on one ſide is the river full of ſhips, and on the other the ſtreet bounded by trees, and then by very large and well built houſes; here the beſt company in the city reſort, to walk and converſe, ſomething in the ſtile of St. James's Park, though it may be ſuppoſed much inferior. I had heard much of the churches in Rotterdam, but none of them are ſtriking. The Exchange is a very large, and maſſy building, which gives one a good idea of the wealth of the place.

This city is very famous for having given birth to Eraſmus; I was ſhewed with an aukward kind of oſtentation, the houſe in which he was born: on the Great Bridge is a tolerable braſs ſtatue of him; he is repreſented with a flowing gown, and a cap on, and a book in his hand; the pedeſtal is of marble, incloſed with iron rails: the expreſſion is not great.

All ſorts of proviſions are very dear at this place; even fiſh, that is good, is far from cheap: The Dutch are amazingly induſtrious, and all the lower claſſes very frugal, or it would be impoſſible for them to live: if the poor at Rotterdam were to ſquander and drink away as much as they do in the towns

of England, they would ſtarve; this may eaſily be conceived, when I inform the reader, that, during my ſtay here, bread was never leſs than two pence half-penny a pound. Wine is cheaper than in England, but they have much that is very bad; I could not live decently with one ſervant at the inn for leſs than twenty florins a day, which is 1l. 13s. 4d. this certainly is as dear upon the whole as England.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Journey from Rotterdam to the Hague—Deſcription of that famous village—The neighbouring Country—Agriculture—The People—Haerlem—To Amſterdam.

FROM Rotterdam, I took the way on the 14th, by Delft, to the Hague, in a treckſchuyt, or paſſage boat: the diſtance to the former of theſe places is only ſix Engliſh miles, for which I paid for myſelf and ſervant only twelve ſtivers; theſe boats are very peculiar conveyances, they go at the rate of three miles and a half an hour: the only ſtops they make, are at certain little towns, from which they expect to take in freſh paſſengers. It is drawn by an horſe, and will hold about fifteen paſſengers in the cabbin, or covered room, with convenience; but the miſchief is, that the maſter, or ſkipper, will crowd it with twenty, and even twenty-five, on account of the profit of the fares; and indeed, I believe if he could pack them as cloſe, he would ſtuff it as full as a

barrel of herrings. I have read in ſome books, that pretend to give an exact account of Holland, that theſe boats are the moſt agreeable travelling in the world; but I beg to add, in relation only to cheapneſs. I took this paſſage with two and twenty other paſſengers; we are told that the paſſengers may talk, knit, ſew, read, and do whatever they like; which is undoubtedly true: they may perform all theſe agreeable functions, juſt in the manner in which they are performed in an Engliſh ſtage coach, in which ſix are crammed, all perhaps great, fat, or opulent wretches, that are made only to be a plague to the next on the ſeat. I can conceive, a ſtage coach half full, and none but agreeable company in it, may prove a very agreeable conveyance; but what are theſe boaſted treckſchuyts, when you have a dozen Dutch boors in them, who ſetting at nought the cleanlineſs of their country, will ſpit cloſe at your feet, whatever be your rank, and will ſhew as little idea of civility, or even humanity, as the moſt drunken hackney coachman at London.

But what can be expected from a conveyance that carries one at the rate of about a penny a mile; if travelling is very cheap, very low, and vulgar people will travel. At London, we have ſtages that go five or ſix miles

miles for a ſhilling, nothing ſo deteſtable; the cheapneſs induces all the blackguards who were born to uſe their feet, not coaches, to become paſſengers; and a gentleman, or any man that has two ideas, is offended at the lowneſs of the company he meets in them. It appears very clearly to me, that every thing which is cheap, ismade or managed with a peculiar view to thoſe that are poor, and will in general ſuit them only: It may be ſaid that men of education, genius, ſcience, and ſo forth, are often poor; but what then? Am I to be peſtered with the company of half a ſcore Dutch boors, becauſe it is probable that a man of genius may now and then honour it with his preſence. But however, to do juſtice to theſe boats, I ſhall readily allow, that if the fare was ſix-pence a mile, they would be a moſt agreeable method of travelling: They are well built, the cabbin a good room, with windows ſo diſpoſed that you ſee much of the country. The canals are not only deep, but from thirty to ſeventy feet wide; they ſet off at regular hours, and arrive at the ſame.

Delft is an agreeable place, I conceive it to be half as large as Norwich, in England; the principal object in it is the manufactory of earthen ware. Mr. Geradus van Weſſel-

inck is at preſent the principal manufacturer; I had a letter to him, intimating that I ſhould be glad of ſome intelligence concerning the preſent ſtate of their fabrick; he willingly obliged me in this, but as he did not ſpeak French, I was obliged to get an interpreter. He told me that their porcelane employed about four thouſand people, men, women, and children; that the manufacture was once ſo flouriſhing as to ſupport more than ſeven thouſand, but the ſetting up a fabric of white ſtone ware in England was very prejudicial to it, though not near ſo much as the eſtabliſhment of the Staffordſhire cream-coloured ware: in this reſpect things had been ſo changed, that Engliſh ware rivalled the Delft, not only in the Britiſh conſumption, but even in their own city, where the ſale of it had alarmed the principal manufacturers ſo much, as to induce them to apply more than once to the States, for a prohibition of it: this has not yet been granted, but very high duties are already laid; the uſe of it ſtill continuing, they are now attempting the ſame manufacture here to rival the Engliſh; but from the ſpecimens I ſaw of it, I do not think there is any danger of their ſucceeding.

Making beer is alſo a trade in which the people of Delft much employ themſelves, and

and it flouriſhes tolerably well: there was formerly a conſiderable cloth manufacture, but the ſetting up rivals to it in France, in Lewis XIVth's time, brought it to a very low ebb.

From this place to the Hague, the diſtance is but four miles; and as the road was good, and chaiſes commonly paſſing, I preferred that conveyance to the paſſage boat. The whole country is one continued rich meadow. I arrived there the 16th.

The Hague is a conſiderable city, though called a village, from the ridiculous reaſon of its not being walled. It has more of the *rus in urbe* than any place I have ſeen; the ſtreets are broad and regular, but few of them without trees; the ſquares are groves; and the numerous gardens, in union of the whole, with the ſurrounding meadows, which is hardly ever broken by thoſe dirty receptacles of filth, and innumerable brick-kilns, and cow-yards that encompaſs London, render it quite country, and make it charming to thoſe who love theſe rural doings in the midſt of a city.

I was recommended to the Parliament of England, as the beſt inn, and one to which all perſons of any conſideration reſorted. I found it fully anſwerable to the character I had

had received: although I was moderate in ordering at meals, as well through œconomy as a diſlike at a table fully covered for a ſingle perſon, yet I could not come off for leſs than two regular courſes, and ſeveral ſorts of excellent wine; indeed I found it to little purpoſe to be explicit in directing what I would have for meals, for I was ſerved with a variety, whether I would have it or not; the expences ran at about two guineas a day on an average; but I entertained ſome perſons of character, in conſequence of letters I had procured to them. There is no ſatisfaction in travelling expenſively, eſpecially in eating and drinking, further than proportioned to a man's rank and fortune; and I had ever entertained an idea, that money was better expended in purchaſing the rarities, or other peculiar productions, as far as my purſe would allow, than ſquandering large ſums at inns, and on the road. It was not my deſign to make any long ſtay at the Hague, or I ſhould have enquired out private lodgings, and a more œconomical way of living. I mention theſe circumſtances as a hint to other travellers, that they may conſider and lay their plan of reſidence before hand; for my ſtay was longer, and conſequently more expenſive, than I deſigned.

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In general, I had met with nothing but Dutch beds in Holland, that is of four or five feet high; a young couple, on their wedding night, unleſs their blood is true Dutch, I ſhould think would run the hazard of breaking their necks; in truth they are fit only for the moſt ſober ſleepers; but on hinting a diſlike, I was ſhewn to an apartment fitted up in the Engliſh ſtile.

The ſtreets at the Hague are extremely well paved with clinkers, that have an appearance of bricks, and the joints ſo well made, that they admit of waſhing like an houſe, and the inhabitants ſeem to vie with each other in this public cleanlineſs; thoſe of each houſe keep that bit clean which is before it; this makes walking in them wonderfully agreeable. I obſerved the ſpirit of this cleanneſs at Rotterdam and Delft, but the pavements not being equally good, the effects are not ſo viſible as here; and here let me remark, that the extreme idea of keeping their houſes clean, of which I have ſo often read uncommon accounts, ſeems rather to have declined among them. I think I have been in many houſes in England, that are kept to the full as clean as any that I have chanced to ſee in Holland; but this extends, however, only to the better ranks of the people, for among the lower

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ones there is no compariſon between the two nations: a Dutch cottage, or the houſe of an inferior tradeſman, with ever ſo many children in it, is as clean as poſſible; but in England, ſuch are too often the reſidence of filth and naſtineſs. We have a female character among us, that is vulgularly called a *dawdle*, but ſuch a character is not to be met in Holland.

One circumſtance which I have heard ſome of my countrymen find terrible fault with, is the fuel; a fire of wood will coſt as much at the Hague, as ſeven fires at London, and I ſaw no coal; turf is the only firing. I have no objection to it; the abſence of ſmoak, which from ſea coal is beaſtly, and from wood death to ones eyes, is a great advantage; add to this, that the moſt aſthmatic man will find no inconvenience to his breath from turf. But as to the ſtoves, and rooms heated by ſtoves, they appear to me extremely diſagreeable; cuſtom I ſuppoſe would reconcile them; but the chearful ſociety of an Engliſh fire far exceeds theſe contrivances.

This place carries a very different appearance from any other I had ſeen in Holland; buſineſs, and making money, is one of the only employments and pleaſures you ſee at Rotterdam; but the Hague has very little trade going

going forward; to make amends for which, here is as much good company as at any other place in Europe; all foreign miniſters reſide here; it is the court of the Prince of Orange, and the meetings of the States-general are never held at any other place: the number of elegant equipages is great, and the expenſive dreſſes you ſee, the number of ſervants, the general air of luxury and pleaſure, all carried a very different appearance from any thing I had yet ſeen: but notwithſtanding its being the reſidence of ſo many idle people, who ſpend great incomes, ſtill the Hague is miſerably provided with public diverſions. I went to a place they called the opera-houſe, and there met with a French comedy, wofully acted; it gave me a diſtaſte of their theatre: and this is the principal houſe of amuſement, which is partly ſupported by the ſubſcriptions of foreign miniſters. I was informed that operas are now and then performed, when ſingers are to be had: concerts they have pretty often, and tolerably good; the beſt however are at private houſes.

But what I loſt in the public way, I gained in the more private; on my delivering my letters to ſeveral perſons of ſome diſtinction, and waiting on Sir Joſeph Yorke, I was introduced to ſome good company, that contributed

buted greatly to make my reſidence perfectly agreeable; the parties I attended were, as I believe is the caſe in all the great cities in Europe, much more to my inclinations than any entertainment I could receive in public.

The public buildings at the Hague make no figure; the houſes that form the ſtreets and ſquares being in general much ſuperior, many of theſe are great. The palace, as they call it, has ſeveral courts, but is a poor building: that of Prince Maurice, Governor of Brazil, is not at all ſtriking.

The Voohout is the Dutch Mall, and is about as broad as that of St. James, but not near ſo long: it was planted by the Emperor Charles V. there are three contiguous ways for coaches, and the buildings that face it make a good figure; but what is very amazing, inſtead of gravel, they have made it of cockle ſhells, which in treading has a vile effect. This is ſtrange, as gravel might be had at no dear rate from our Thames. Sand is the general ſubſtitute in Holland, and this alone is a great deduction from the beauty, or rather formality of their gardens. This Mall is, however, as much deſerted as our Ring.

The Prince Graft is a very noble ſtreet, near half a mile long, of a grand breadth, and as ſtrait as an arrow; a very ſpacious canal, planted

planted on both ſides, runs along the middle of it, having ſeveral ſtone bridges with iron balluſtrades over it; the houſes, eſpecially one ſide, make a fine appearance, and the whole, in a word, is a very great ornament to the Hague. But it is a ſtrong inſtance that this planting of ſtreets has not an effect equal to a fine range of buildings, unaccompanied with trees: a canal regularly cut through a very wide ſtreet, faced with ſtone, accords perfectly well with the regularity of houſes, and is a great improvement, but trees have nothing to do in the caſe.

Having ſpent eight days very agreeably at the Hague, I made an excurſion the 24th of April to Scheveling, a village about two miles off, on the ſea coaſt; the road to it through the ſand banks is curious. Here the company from the Hague come to eat fiſh freſh caught, and ſome to bathe. The coaſt is very well worth viewing, to ſee the great attention and care that is given to keep the banks in order, to defend the country from the ſea. On this beach, which is very flat and regular, was uſed the famous ſailing chariot of Stevinus, which carried eight and twenty perſons the aſtoniſhing diſtance of 42 miles in two hours; and once, by an error in him that held the rudder, if we may ſo call it, was very near

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ſailing with a full cargo into the ſea, which was rather more than they bargained for. The great ſucceſs of this famous machine has, in different parts of Europe, produced many imitators; and an hundred ſchemes for conducting not only coaches and chariots, but alſo carts and waggons, and even ploughs, harrows, and rollers, by wind: ſomething uſeful might probably be done in it; but found mathematicians wanting money for ſuch experiments, they have never gone further than the cloſets of viſionaries and dabblers.

On my return in the afternoon, I took a walk to the Wood near the Hague, belonging to the Prince of Orange, which is famous in Holland; but nothing in it will in the leaſt ſtrike a perſon uſed to the gardens in England: in the houſe is a fine ſaloon or ball-room, with a cupola in the ceiling: it is richly ornamented with very fine pictures, many by Rubens, Vanderwerfe, Varelſt, Schuyr, &c.

The 25th I employed in viſiting Ryſwick, a palace belonging to the Prince of Orange, and famous for the peace concluded there. It is the only building of free ſtone in the Seven Provinces: it is ſtrongly enveloped in wood, which darkens every room; this paſ-

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ſion of crouding all their houſes with wood is unaccountable in the Dutch. In a hilly bleak country, where wind and plenty of air were evils, one would naturally look for this taſte, but it is prepoſterous in a dead flat, in which the air is as apt to ſtagnate as the water, and conſequently the more open the better. Nothing in the palace, but a few good pictures, is worthy of obſervation. At Honſlaerdyck, another palace belonging to the ſame Prince, is a gallery of many very fine paintings, by the beſt maſters of the Flemiſh ſchool. Many of the lower rooms are richly paved with fine marble; and there is a cloſet of the Princeſs's entirely wainſcotted with old japan.

The 26th I left the Hague, and took the treckſchuyt for Leyden, being not more than nine miles, and paid for myſelf and ſervant fourteen ſtivers: I was very fortunate in company, ſo the mode of travelling turned out for this time very agreeable; we were near three hours on the way. I took up my quarters at the Golden-ball, and let me here remark, as I have mentioned the inn, that I found the accommodation good, but dear. Leyden is a very large, and in general an handſome city, fortified, but not ſtrongly. There are few canals in it, which gives it in

this country a peculiar appearance; but the water is much complained of as being bad; the canals they have ſtagnate, and the putrid exhalations are miſchievous.

The ſtreets are long, broad, and ſtrait, and the houſes very well built; the Rapenburg ſtreet is a very noble one, but not, as the inhabitants aſſured me, the fineſt in Europe. The great church is a very fine building. Nothing in the ſtadthouſe is worthy of obſervation, but a picture of the laſt judgment, by Luke of Leyden. The univerſity here is the moſt famous in Holland, and well known all over Europe for having produced many very great men.

I was particular in my enquiries into the ſtate of the woollen manufacture here, which has long been very conſiderable; the workmen conſiſt of ſeveral nations, and among others, ſeveral French refugees: the fabrick employs ſeveral thouſand men and women, and ſome children; they make chiefly broad and narrow cloths, ſerges, and camlets, but they are inferior to the fineſt cloths of the ſame kind made in England. I deſired to be informed if this inferiority was owing to a want of fine wool, or to a want of markets; the former is the account that has been given by numerous authors, that have mentioned theſe fabrics:

fabrics: a very intelligent, and ſeemingly candid maſter manufacturer, aſſured me, that they attended principally to making thoſe cloths that met with the readieſt ſale through Turkey and the Eaſt Indies, Spain, and other countries; that cloths equally fine with the Engliſh would not ſell, not from being diſliked, but from their dearneſs: they have made cloths as fine as any in England, and ſold them as cheap as the Engliſh, but the price, throughout all their foreign markets, regulates their manufacture. That as to wool, they got much from Spain, which anſwered all the purpoſes of fine, ſome from Great Britain and Ireland; but, added he, not ſo much as the Engliſh apprehend. The coarſe comes from Germany, and large quantities from Poland and Turkey. I aſked him how they came to buy fine cloths from England to export, as I well knew they did at Rotterdam, if their own were in more requeſt on account of cheapneſs? he replied, that he meant only in general; that certain individuals, regardleſs of price in all the regions to which their fabrics were exported, would have the very beſt, but it was nothing in compariſon with the bulk of the demand, which was for cheap cloths; and that they found it ſo much more advantageous to put only coarſe ones in their

looms, that they readily ſubmitted to purchaſe the finer ſorts from England.

I found they all agreed very well in complaining of the decline of trade; they aſſured me that the manufactures of Leyden were, fifty years ago, at leaſt one third more conſiderable than they are at preſent, and what is worſe, they rather decline every day. I enquired the reaſon of this declenſion; they told me it could only be attributed to the great progreſs made in manufactures in France, England, and Germany; that the Engliſh rivalled them more and more every day; that the fabrics of France, in time of peace, did them much miſchief at preſent, but in the laſt century were a mortal blow to the Leyden ones; that in Germany ſeveral Princes, who formerly cloathed their armies entirely with the Dutch cloth, had lately eſtabliſhed manufactures for ſupplying themſelves.

Before I quit Leyden, I muſt offer a few obſervations on the country through which I have paſſed ſince I left Rotterdam: all this part of Holland is in general a very rich meadow, ſcarcely an arable field being any where ſeen: theſe meadows are very rich; they are quite flat, on a loamy marl ſoil; as near as I could compute, I reckon the rents of them to riſe from forty ſhillings to ſix pounds

pounds an acre, Engliſh meaſure. They are principally applied to feeding cows, of the large breed, which in England is called the Dutch, and by ſome the Holderneſſe cattle. The peaſants are remarkably attentive in the management of their cows; they keep them houſed through a very long winter, and as clean as an Engliſh gentleman would his race-horſe: they do not effect this by means of much litter; on the contrary, they uſe none at all; but they make a trench of ſtone or brick in the floor of a cow-room, ſo exactly placed, that the dung may fall directly into it, which being taken regularly away, and the dirt of the reſt of the houſe ſwept into it, forms a good compoſt; and the ſaving of ſtraw, where there is no arable land, is an object of capital importance. They further rub and curry their cows, ſo as to keep them as clean as any horſes, which they think eſſential to their giving much milk; and they keep their houſes as warm as poſſible, ſtopping every crevice till the breath of the beaſts makes the whole houſe perfectly warm: this I think is a ſtrange cuſtom, and ſeems very contrary to nature; but they carry this notion ſo far as to cloath their cows in ſummer, while they are in the meadows feeding; this makes a ſtrange ſight.

Beſides cows, theſe paſtures are fed by vaſt herds of black cattle, which are bought by Dutch droversin Holſtein and Denmark; they are purchaſed for about forty or fifty ſhillings a head, and when brought to Holland, more than an hundred miles, are ſold to the Dutch farmers at three or four pounds a head; and it is very obſerveable that theſe meadows are ſo rich that ſome of the beaſts will be fattened in ſix weeks, but two months are a common time, and three months ſufficient for the largeſt and worſt thriving among them. The butchers buy them fat, at five, ſix, eight, and nine pounds a head; and as an Engliſh acre will fatten three of them, the farmer makes from three to ſix pounds an acre for only a part of the year; but this profit is not from hence to be calculated, his taxes and his rent leave him no great matter for his own uſe. It is aſſerted that the fleſh of theſe oxen is not ſo firm, nor their hides ſo ſtrong, nor ſo capable of making good leather, as thoſe of Engliſh cattle; this is owing to the luxuriance of the food, puffing them up in two or three months, rather than giving them that ſolid fat which ſix or eight months effect in England: it is accordingly obſerved, that although ſome of theſe beaſts are as large as the Engliſh ones, yet their fleſh is not ſo

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heavy, ſo that they will not weigh equally with Engliſh beaſts of the ſame appearance. As the Dutch eat very little beef freſh, the greateſt part of theſe herds are ſalted for the uſe of the ſhipping, the Eaſt India company taking off great quantities; or dried and ſmoaked in a peculiar manner for hung beef, which they export as a rarity all over Europe.

As I am here ſpeaking of the ſoil, and its produce, it will be proper to obſerve, that land ſells dearer in the neighbourhood of Leyden, than in any other place in Europe, when applied only to cultivation and not to building: arable land ſells for 200l. an acre; three acres have been ſold for 650l. meadows ſells at 130l. an acre; but the gardens, which are very famous, bring commonly from 250l. to 310l. pound an acre: the products they yield are highly valued by the connoiſſeurs in eating, inſomuch that Amſterdam, though at nineteen miles diſtance, is principally ſupplied from hence. The gardeners are very ſkilful, not only in cropping their lands inceſſantly, upon the plan now purſued by the beſt around London, where this art is in as high perfection as in any place in the world.

The general fertility of the country, which for moſt products is very great, but eſpecially

for graſs, is owing to the ſoil, and to every meadow being well watered: from the general flatneſs of the whole, and the neighbourhood of the ſea, with the numerous rivers, it is evidently a drained marſh or bog: being all either a fat marly loam, mud, or a turf bog; theſe are rich ſoils, and with the advantage of cattle having always water to recourſe to, which the Dutch boors eſteem a matter of great conſequence both to fattening and milking, they perform the wonders that here are ſeen: much is owing therefore to ſuch numbers of canals and rivers * that interſect the

* Among the rivers, it is very well known that the Rhine is very inconſiderable. At Leyden they ſhew an inſignificant canal, which is the real Rhine. The remark of a modern author, on this river, is very juſt: "The glory of other rivers increaſes proportionably to the length of their courſe, but this dwindles to nothing, and is utterly loſt before it comes to the harbour. After it has been forced to divide itſelf at Fort Schencken, where one half of its waters take the name of Wahall, the Yſſel robs it of another part a little above Arnheim; ſtill it goes on to that city, though much weakened; and about twenty miles from thence, is obliged to ſeparate again at the city of Duerſtadt. Here its principal branch takes a new name, and is called the Leck, and the poor little ſtripped rivulet turns to the right, retaining ſtill the old name of Rhine, and paſſes on to Utrecht, where it is divided a fourth

meadows, and probably ſomewhat to their overflowing large tracts in winter, and leaving, it may be preſumed, ſome parallel advantages to thoſe which are left by the Nile.

Before I quit the neighbourhood of the Hague and Leyden, which are reckoned the politeſt places in all the Provinces, and the moſt

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fourth time. The Vetcht breaks off that place, and takes its courſe to the north; and the little thread of water, which is yet called the Rhine, paſſes quietly to Worden. At length it comes to bid its laſt farewell to Leyden, and faintly finiſhes its courſe, by loſing the ſmall remainder of its waters in two or three canals, without having the honour to enter the ſea. We are not ignorant of the cauſe of the Rhine's fate; it was an earthquake, which ſhook the Downs in the ninth century, and filling the mouth of this river, forced it to return and ſeek a new paſſage. The Leck was then ſcarce worth notice, but the waters of the Rhine, which were driven back and overflowed the country, and ſwelled and deepened the Leck's channel, and the entrance of the ſea has been ever ſince ſhut up againſt the antient courſe of the Rhine. Thus this poor river, which runs ſuch hazards in the Lake of Conſtance, and throws itſelf down the precipice near Shaffhauſen, loſes at length its reputation and waters at the village of Catwick. 'Tis related by ſeveral good authors, that the tract of land called Zealand, was at that time divided into the ſeveral iſlands we ſee now; and that thoſe lands, woods, and meadows, which were between Amſterdam and the Texel, were overflowed and covered with thoſe waters now remaining, and known by the name of the Zuyder Sea.".

moſt learned, both from the one being a ſeat of government, and the reſidence of the foreign miniſters, and the univerſity of the other being the ſeat of the ſciences and literature, let me offer the few remarks I have made on the characters of the people I have yet ſeen, that if there is any eſſential difference between them and the inhabitants of Amſterdam, and the more diſtant provinces, I may not confound them. There is a very great national reſemblance among the lower claſſes of the people; and indeed, among all but the higheſt, who ſupport themſelves without trade, and who have travelled; the latter are all more or leſs French, or imitators of them; they ſpeak that language only, dreſs in the French taſte (which by the way is not very natural among the marſhes of Holland) eat in the ſame, and give themſelves ſome airs, as if they pretended to the French livelineſs and vivacity: it is very evident, that this claſs is compoſed of ſuch mongrel animals, that we muſt not take our ideas of the national character from it, becauſe they carry in their very face the marks of being but baſtard Dutch. Let me remark, however, that the Hague ſeems full of theſe Frenchified Dutchmen; that place not being ſupported by trade, but, on the contrary, the reſidence rather of idleneſs than induſtry; numerous

merous families reſide in it that have left off buſineſs, or that live without its help, which, with the reſidence of foreign Ambaſſadors, may eaſily account for the motley appearance of character which we find in that city. It is alſo worth obſerving, that this character is found much at Leyden, though not near ſo common as at the Hague, but at Rotterdam there is a viſible difference; this ſcale ſhews plainly that the character and the manners of the people are much formed by their cloſe adhering to, or neglecting buſineſs. At Leyden, the univerſity draws a great number of perſons who have no views of trade, and who, therefore, affect the appearance and manners of the inhabitants; but at Rotterdam, every creature is deeply engaged in commerce, and conſequently exhibit the true Dutch character much more to the life.

A cloſe unbroken induſtry ſeems to be the ſtrong mark that is met with in every one; no application wearies them, no accidents divert them; they are attentive only to the raiſing wealth; and it is aſtoniſhing to ſee the number of them that attain very great fortunes, and yet continue all their anxiety and eagerneſs to get more, without ſeeming to give the leaſt attention to enjoying more than a very moderate competency. Their conſti-

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tutions are cold and phlegmatic to an amazing degree; a ſober, dry, regular, parſimonious way of life is habitual, and no paſſion ſeems to lurk in their boſoms that can be ſufficient to ruffle them: This, however, cannot be attributed to the love of trade ſo much as the climate. A Dutchman is as amphibious as a frog; half the country is water, and half their time is ſpent upon the water: the vapours from ſo much of it, and from a ſoil that is low, moiſt, and boggy, muſt have a ſtrong effect on the minds of the inhabitants. What an aſtoniſhing contraſt between love in Spain and Italy, and in Holland! Would it not be amazing to tell a Neapolitan inamorato, that the height of his fine frenzy was mere climate; that if he lived in Holland, he would regard his miſtreſs with the moſt cool friendſhip?

But theſe characteriſtics are not to be made general to the whole people, there are and muſt be many exceptions; but the more of theſe are found, the more, I am clear, muſt be taken from thoſe who have travelled, or from thoſe who are idle. From parſimony, I expected a more univerſal appearance than I met with at Rotterdam, Delft, &c. I met with ſeveral merchants and manufacturers who lived genteelly, and though not all in

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the French ſtile, yet in much eaſe, plenty, and evident affluence, while they ſtuck as cloſely to trade as if no ſuch marks of wealth were found around them. They ſeem to indulge in expence at the table, and in their wines; the furniture, and fitting up of their houſes are other articles, and equipage alſo. Dreſs, amuſement, and ſervants, do not claim their attention ſo much.

But the true national character, unmixed, muſt be ſought for among the lower claſſes: here are to be found the ſame coldneſs of conſtitution, with no other invigoration than comes from much ſtrong beer, gin, and tobacco, all of which they take in large quantities: you ſee an uncommon, and even unremitted induſtry, which is abſolutely neceſſary to keep them, where all the neceſſaries of life are at leaſt one third dearer than in England: you alſo find a rough booriſhneſs in them, much beyond what is met with elſewhere; the very loweſt of the people will not pay the leaſt mark of perſonal reſpect to the greateſt merchant in a town: this is the effect of that equality which flows through a republic, and not more liberty; for they are governed here with three times the ſeverity that the lower people in England are, who have therefore more liberty, but

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yet we do not find this degree of boorishness. The low people in Holland have been reproached much with being paſſionate, drawing their knives on one another, and violently cruel in their inſurrections; from the little ſtay I have made here, it is but juſtice to ſay that I have met with ſcarcely any inſtances, and I ſtrongly believe, that whenever they happen, it is owing to their being too free with gin; for as to that choleric heat and ſudden paſſion met with in the ſouthern parts of Europe, I have not met with one inſtance; and yet from moving quickly about to examine every thing, it is a vaſt number of the people I have ſeen.

From Leyden to Haerlem the diſtance is fifteen miles, which the boat performed in four hours. This little voyage I took the 29th, and went by recommendation to the Golden Lion; the inns, I again repeat, are as dear as thoſe in England, but I do not think them comparable to ours upon the great roads. The views of the country by the way are not diſagreeable, though you have a range of vaſt turf pits, and the Lake of Haerlem all the way on one ſide; but the other is much diverſified with meadows, which they told me are fed principally with black cattle. The Lake is twelve miles long

long and three broad, lying between Amſterdam, Leyden, and Haerlem; there is a very conſiderable traffic on it, ſo that it is finely ſpread with ſails. It yields vaſt quantities of fiſh. It is aſtoniſhing, that little jealouſies between the three great cities near this river ſhould prevent their agreeing in a work ſo vaſtly profitable, as draining it, and converting the whole to rich meadow; the water is no where more than eight feet deep, and all of it could be conveyed away at no very large expence, and the whole ſpace kept dry. The Dutch, with whom I converſed on this ſubject, agreed that the buſineſs might very eaſily be done; but ſaid that Amſterdam, Leyden, and Haerlem, muſt agree in it.

Haerlem, like all the other cities of Holland, is ſurrounded with a ſhew of fortifications; but none that would enable it to hold out three days againſt an army well provided. The ſtreets are wide and ſtrait, but the houſes have nothing to admire in them: there are many canals: the number of inhabitants are reckoned at fifty thouſand. The principal church is a very fine ſtructure, in it are three organs; and they ſhew in the walls cannon balls now ſticking, which were ſhot againſt it by the Spaniards in the famous

famous ſiege of 1572. But the objects much the moſt worthy of notice in this place are the manufactures, and the bleacheries: the principal trade is bleaching linen; vaſt quantities, which are made in the Provinces, and others from Flanders, and even Sileſia, are bleached at Haerlem; whole ſhip-loads from Scotland, and Ireland, are brought hither for the ſame purpoſe. It is the quality of the water which has ſo great an effect; for many trials have been made in England, Scotland, and Ireland, where Dutch bleachers have been employed, without having the ſame ſucceſs. Let it however be remembered, that in proportion to the whiteneſs of the cloth, ſuch will prove the ſhortneſs of the wear; they rot as well as bleach them: this article of nicety ſhould therefore be confined to thoſe cloths that are deſigned merely for the uſe of the rich, it is pernicious to others. The charge of freight backwards from Scotland, with that of bleaching, amounts to 10d. a yard, which would be a monſtrous addition to the price of any but very fine cloths.

Beſides this branch of trade, there are ſeveral very conſiderable manufactories, particularly the weaving of velvet, damaſks, ſattins, ſilk ſtuffs of various ſorts, thread, tape, &c. in all which they are famous: great numbers

bers of hands are employed by them; and they told me here, contrary to what I had learned in the other manufacturing towns, that their fabrics had increaſed for ſome years, but that their bleaching trade had declined. Weavers, upon an average, earn about five florins and an half a week, which is above nine ſhillings: I had different accounts of the number of hands employed in all the manufactures; ſome made them 30,000, others 35,000, and ſome made them 43,000; but there are many employed by ſome very conſiderable breweries, which work for exportation.

From Haerlem to Amſterdam is about eight or nine miles; the boat is two hours and an half going; half way are ſeveral large ſluices, of an aukward conſtruction, which oblige the paſſengers to walk about a quarter of a mile, and change boats. The canal runs in an odd ſituation between the lake of Haerlem and an arm of the ſea. May 1ſt, I entered Amſterdam, and went immediately to private lodgings, which were provided me by a correſpondent, to whom I had applied for that purpoſe, as it was my intention to ſpend ſome time in this city, for an opportunity to regard minutely whatever was moſt worthy of obſervation.

CHAP. III.

Amſterdam—Buildings—Remarkable Objects—Inhabitants—Trade—Wealth, &c.

AMSTERDAM appears to no great advantage to a ſtranger on his firſt coming into it, unleſs he makes his way through the Heeregraft, or the Keyzergraft ſtreets: that of Haerlem is very long, but the ſluices in the canal hurt the effect of it; the two former have alſo canals in the middle of them, and are very noble ſtreets; but, like moſt in Holland, are planted with trees. I obſerved that ſome of the canals are very broad, and make a fine appearance; but the houſes in general are not erected in a grand ſtile; on the contrary, very many of them diſgrace the areas before them: this, though an evil, is in all the cities of Europe, and eſpecially in London. In ſquares this great city appears to be very deficient; they are few in number, and have nothing in them ſtriking: that called the Dam is the principal, but

but it is very irregular. It would be graced by the Stadthouſe, were it not for a vile old building that disfigures its noble front, and which it is a ſcandal to the government to leave in its preſent ſituation.

But though Amſterdam cannot boaſt of many fine ſquares, like ſeveral other capital cities, yet it contains ſome public buildings, that ſtrike the ſpectator with aſtoniſhment at the magnificence to which trade has here attained. I was very deſirous of viewing the principal objects in the city to the beſt advantage, and was fully gratified by the moſt obliging attention of Meſſ. Sautyn and Roſevelt, who rank amongſt the greateſt merchants here, and to whom I brought letters of recommendation; they took every method of rendering my ſtay agreeable, and conducted me to moſt of the principal edifices themſelves. Their friendly politeneſs I thus publicly acknowledge with the greateſt pleaſure.

The building, which is incomparably beyond all others, is the Stadthouſe; the front, as given by ſeveral authors, for I did not meaſure it, is 282, the depth is 232, and the height is 116 feet, beſides a ſmall cupola; it was begun to be raiſed in 1648; the expence of the edifice has been variouſly computed,

with ſuch an amazing difference, as from three hundred thouſand pounds, to three millions; the latter muſt certainly be computed according to the different value of money then and now; but even ſo, it muſt be vaſtly beyond the truth: the former is in all probability much nearer the reality. The front of the building has nothing of taſte or elegance in it; it is a heavy pile, which ſtrikes the ſpectator with that idea which is raiſed by the grandeur of its magnitude; the general effect being, in my opinion, a much greater error in the architect's taſte than the want of a ſuitable entrance. The inſide of the building is finiſhed in a very noble ſtile, conſidering the purpoſe to which it is applied; ſuch as a priſon, a bank, the ſeat of the Courts of Juſtice, the ſeſſions rooms, guard rooms, &c. The floors, walls, and pillars are in general of marble; and many of the apartments are adorned with very fine paintings by the beſt of the Flemiſh maſters. The carving and gilding I cannot approve; theſe are too light and airy ornaments for the purpoſes to which the whole edifice is applied. In the ſecond ſtory is a great magazine of arms; and over that, great reſervoirs of water, with tubes to conduct it into every apartment; and another precaution againſt fire is,

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the chimneys being lined with copper. I went to the top of the cupola, for a view of the city and neighbouring country, which it gives in great perfection; commanding the whole ſpace built, with the canals, and the immenſe number of ſhips in the harbour, altogether forming a very noble proſpect.

The bank of Amberdam, which is the lower apartment, is famous all over the world. The great treaſure ſaid to be locked up in the vaults of this houſe, belonging to the bank, are the ſums received in purchaſe, not of bank ſtock, but of bank transfer. This is not like that of London, a bank that circulates notes in return for caſh; on the contrary it is a bank of depoſit: whoever pays money here, has it entered in the bank books, but can never more demand a ſhilling of it: when he wants to raiſe money, he offers to ſale ſo much bank credit, which is transferred in a moment, and ever ready to raiſe any ſums upon.

Here a natural queſtion may be ſtated: What is the uſe of ſuch a bank? the excellence of a bank of circulation is evident at firſt ſight; by circulating paper they have it in their power to remedy numerous evils, which in certain ſituations of affairs attend a languid circulation of coin: if money is too ſcarce, ſuch an inſtitution may be able to make it

plentiful; and another great utility (at leaſt it has been ſo eſteemed in England) is that of iſſuing large quantities of paper to ſupply the home demand for a currency, while the precious metals are at liberty to go abroad in whatever method, or on whatever buſineſs, the merchants may find adviſable, in order to increaſe their commerce and their fortunes at the ſame time: but, on the contrary, a bank of depoſit is not attended with any one of theſe conveniences; circulation is much impeded by it. The circulation of a million of guilders is attended with certain advantages in the United Provinces, by animating induſtry. Suppoſe this million of guilders is locked up in the bank, it may be ſaid, they will ſtill circulate in the books of the bank: true, they circulate at Amſterdam, but no where elſe. Thus the eſtabliſhment of a bank depoſit has only the effect of fixing a vaſt portion of all the trade and wealth of a country in one ſpot; of which Amſterdam, with having the worſt harbour, yet poſſeſſing the moſt trade of any town in Holland, is a pregnant inſtance. This local advantage of facilitating circulation at one ſpot, in prejudice of all others, is ſurely a partial deciſion in its favour. In a political view, it may be pronounced dangerous to the ſtate. A foreign enemy attacking

ing a town, or a province, is an evil that can be remedied; but what if an invader lays ſiege to the bank? what ruin and confuſion muſt enſue? the loſs of the Stadthouſe may be preſumed the loſs of the republick. Banks of circulation are open to ſome accidents, but not a twentieth part of theſe of depoſit.

The treaſure in the bank of Amſterdam is an abſolute ſecret to all but thoſe who have the government of it: the value has been computed, or rather gueſſed at, from twenty to forty millions ſterling; but naming any particular ſums, muſt be at beſt but wild work. It is, however, a very aſtoniſhing ſyſtem of accumulation, for it is a well known fact, that money once paid and entered in the bank books can never be demanded; and it is a well known fact, that money is perpetually paid in: here, therefore, ſeems to be a conſtant ingreſs but no egreſs, conſequently a treaſure which ſeems perpetually to increaſe.*

* Since the above was written, I have met with a curious account of the operations of this bank, in a late author, which well deſerves quoting here. "Let me ſuppoſe a caſe, which may happen, to wit, that for a certain time, the trade of Amſterdam may demand a larger ſupply of credit in bank than is neceſſary upon an average. Will

The Exchange is a large building, and very well adapted to the uſe; but it is unornamented, and not equal in architecture to that

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Will not this raiſe the agio? No doubt. (*The agio is the difference between the ſtandard of money received at the bank, and that current.*) If the agio riſes ſo high as to afford a premium upon carrying coin to the bank, upon the footing of their own regulations, this will augment the ſum of bank credit, becauſe the money ſo carried to the bank becomes incorporated with the bank ſtock; the value is writ in the books of the bank; and when this is done, the coin is locked up for ever.

If then it ſhould happen, that the trade of Amſterdam ſhould afterwards diminiſh, ſo as to return to the ordinary ſtandard, will not this overcharge of credit depreſs the rate of bank money, and ſink the agio too much below the par of the intrinſic value of the two currencies?

To theſe difficulties I anſwer like one, who being ignorant of facts, which I could never get aſcertained by any perſon in Holland, to whom I had acceſs for information, and which remained hid from moſt people in the deep *arcana* of Amſterdam politics, muſt have recourſe to conjectures founded upon natural ſagacity.

Firſt then, the city of Amſterdam knows, from long experience, the rate of demand for bank money; and it is not to be ſuppoſed, that upon any ſudden emergency, which may heighten that demand for a time, they ſhould be ſuch novices as to increaſe the credit upon the books, ſo far as to run any riſk of overſtocking the market with it; eſpecially on ſuch occaſions, as the deficiency of bank credit might be ſupplied with coin, conſtantly to be found in the city of Amſterdam.

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that of London: the contrivance of numbering the pillars, for the ſake of finding a merchant

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Further, who will ſay that there does not reſide a power in the managers of this bank to iſſue coin for the ſuperfluous credit, in caſe that, in ſpite of all precautions to prevent it, a redundancy of bank credit ſhould at any time be found upon their books?

It is very true, that no perſon having credit in bank can demand coin for ſuch credit; and as no demand of that ſort can ever be made, it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that a redundancy of coin and credit can never be purged off.

During my ſtay in Holland, I was at great pains to diſcover, but to no purpoſe, whether ever the bank iſſued any part of their credit caſh upon any ſuch occaſions. Every one I converſed with was of opinion, that if ever any coin had been taken from the treaſure of the bank, it muſt have been by authority of the States, for national purpoſes; a ſtep conducted with the greateſt ſecrecy, and the matter of fact I found was extremely doubtful. But this is nothing to the preſent purpoſe. That the coin may be diſpoſed of, I allow, though I do not believe it is; but how is the ſuperfluous credit writ in the books to be diſpoſed of? There lies the difficulty.

The popular opinion is, that coin has been taken out for the ſervice of the ſtate: the opinion of many intelligent men is quite contrary.

I am now to give my opinion, not only as to this point, but upon the main queſtion; and this not from information, but from conjecture, which I ſhall humbly ſubmit to the better judgment of my reader.

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merchant the more readily, is a very convenient one, and well deſerves imitation.

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My opinion then is. Firſt, That every ſhilling written in the books of the bank is actually locked up in coin, in the bank repoſitories.

Secondly, That although by the regulations of the bank no coin can be iſſued to any perſons who demands it, in conſequence of his credit in bank; yet I have not the leaſt doubt, but that both the credit written in the books of the bank, and the caſh in their repoſitories, which balances it, may ſuffer alternate augmentations and diminitions, according to the greater or leſs demand for bank money. If I can prove this, all difficulties will be removed.

My reaſons for being of this opinion are: Firſt, From principles I muſt conclude, that if upon any occaſion whatever, even when the ſmalleſt demand for bank money, and the greateſt demand for coin takes place, there was an impoſſibility of producing the leaſt diminution of bank credit, or of procuring any ſupply of the metals from the bank, the conſequence certainly would be felt by an extraordinary fall of bank money; or, which is the ſame thing in other words, by an extraordinary riſe in the value of the metals, when compared with bank money.

Now this is a caſe which never happens. Variations upon the rate of agio of two or three per cent, perhaps more, are frequent and familiar. The demands of trade for coin or credit are ſo fluctuating, that ſuch variations are unavoidable; but was there an overcharge of bank credit, which no power could diminiſh, that overcharge would quickly be perceived; becauſe the fluctuations of

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The Admiralty is the next public edifice that demands attention; the ſize of it and

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the agio would entirely ceaſe, as the balance of a ſcale nearly in equilibrio ceaſes from a total overcharge on one ſide.

Second, My ſecond reaſon is founded upon a matter of fact, which I muſt now apply.

There are upon the ſquare, before the Town-houſe of Amſterdam (the Place de Dam) between ten and eleven in the morning, a number of caſhiers, whoſe buſineſs it is to buy bank credit for current coin. They bargain with all thoſe who have occaſion either to buy or ſell; and according to the demand for ſpecie, or bank credit, the agio riſes or ſinks: and as theſe caſhiers muſt conſtantly gain, whether they furniſh bank credit or current coin, ſince they are never the demanders in eitheir operation, it is commonly found that there is in their favour about $\frac{1}{16}$ per cent, or perhaps $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent, according to the revolutions in the demand: that is to ſay, one who would firſt buy ſpecie and then ſell it, would loſe $\frac{1}{8}$ or perhaps $\frac{1}{16}$ upon this operation.

It is a matter of fact, that the bank lends both coin and credit to the brokers, caſhiers, or lombards, who are conſtantly found on the Place de Dam.

Whenever, therefore, the bank finds that agio falls too low, with reſpect to the coin; and when, in conſequence of that, the demand for coin increaſes, then they lend coin out of their repoſitories to the brokers; and when it riſes they lend credit.

This coin the bankers diſpoſe of to thoſe who have bank credit, and who want to convert it into coin. They ſell the coin for bank credit; the purchaſer writes

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and the environs, containing the Arſenal, and the docks for building and rigging ſhips,

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off the transfer in favour of the broker, and he again repays the value of the coin to the bank, by transferring the credit he obtained for the coin in favour of the bank.

This done, the bank may expunge this credit from their books; by which means their depoſit of coin is diminiſhed, and alſo the ſum of credit which was found ſuperfluous.

If, on the other hand, the circulation of the trade of the city ſhould in a ſhort time afterwards begin to increaſe, thoſe who have coin, which, in that caſe, would not ſo well ſerve the uſes of circulation as the bank credit, come with it to the brokers, who ſell them bank credit for it: this coin the brokers deliver to the bank, which writes off the credit lent to the broker, in favour of him who has paid his coin for it.

This is, as I can gueſs, the nature of the circulation of the coin in the bank of Amſterdam.

It is a curious method of preſerving an exact proportion between the coin in depoſit, the credit written in their books of transfer, and the demand for bank money.

From this I conclude, that the treaſure of the bank of Amſterdam is not near ſo great as ſome authors, from mere conjecture, have aſſerted.

The author of the Eſſay on Commerce reckons it at four millions of guilders; and the Amſterdam edition carries in the margin a correction, which gives us to underſtand, that it amounts to between eight and nine hundred millions. Davenant eſteems it at 36 millions ſterling. Mr. Megens, an author of great judgment and ſagacity, eſteems this treaſure at no more than 60 millions of guilders, or about 5,500,000 l. ſterling; a ſum, ſays he,

ſhips is very conſiderable. It conſiſts of three ſides of a ſquare; the front being 220 feet long, and the wings the ſame; in the midſt is the yard for building. The arms and ſtores belonging to the ſhips are kept in the Arſenal, in very great order. The ground floor is filled with cannon balls; the ſecond, contains the arms and cordage; the third, their ſails, pullies, flags, &c. Beſides theſe, here are many curioſities of the naval kind, which are worth viewing. The dock is 508 feet long; and contiguous to it are the houſes for lodging the ſhip carpenters, &c. The order in which every thing is kept and conducted throughout all the departments, cannot fail of ſtriking every one. I obſerved very few men of war, but there are ſometimes 50 ſail and more laid up here. The following is the lateſt account that has been publiſhed of the ſtate of the Dutch navy; but as it was done in Holland, I know not the exact

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he, wherewith great things may be done. Univerſal Merchant, ſect. 61. I agree intirely with him, that for the ready money demands of the trade of Amſterdam, that ſum conſtantly in circulation may go a great length."

An Enquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy, vol. 2, p. 299. By Sir James Stewart.

exact dependance to be placed in it. "Near ſeventy men of war at Amſterdam, eight at Helvoetſluys, eight at Vliſſingen, three at Terveer in Zealand, and fifteen at Hoorn in North Holland, and Harlingen in Frieſland. They have, beſides theſe, fourteen or fifteen ſail at ſea on convoys; in all, about 118 ſail of the line, beſides galleys, &c. of which more than half are in good condition and fit for ſervice,"—Upon this is added a note.—"This true account of the preſent ſtate of the navy may remove the vulgar error, that that the naval ſtrength of the republic is now very inconſiderable. The Dutch are too wiſe a people to let their navy go to ruin, or be reduced even to a low condition in times of the moſt profound peace."

I made all the enquiries that were poſſible into the truth of theſe aſſertions; the paſſage itſelf is very ſuſpiciouſly worded, near 70 ſail at Amſterdam, is afterwards counted for 70; they are called firſt men of war; afterwards they are made men of war of the line; more than half in a good condition; is it meant half the whole, or only half the galleys? My intelligence has not been complete; but from the beſt I could gain, I apprehend this account to be a fiction. Many very ſenſible men, with whom I converſed, much

much lamented the low ſtate of their navy; and ſaid, that the condition of their ſhips was worſe than the deficiency of the number; adding, that it would be no eaſy matter to fit out, on a ſudden emergency, even five and twenty ſail of the line, in thorough order, and ready for ſervice: one in the company obſerved, however, that this neglect of the fleet was not of ſuch bad conſequence as in ſome other countries, becauſe the number of ſailors, maintained by their trade, was ſo great, that nothing but money could at any time be wanting to revive their navy; large magazines of timber could preſently be laid up, and all other requiſites had in the greateſt plenty; that he ſhould apprehend two years notice ſufficient to revive the Dutch navy in all its ſplendour, provided money was not wanting.

The Eaſt India Houſe, and Arſenal, are great buildings, which much deſerve viewing. In the former, the company hold their meetings; and have very conſiderable magazines of all ſorts of India goods. The Arſenal is 2000 feet ſquare every way; it contains docks for building the ſhips, and warehouſes and ſtores for completely rigging them, all in excellent order. They have magazines of all ſorts of naval ſtores; in one they have many

many pieces of heavy artillery, and in another more than ſix hundred large anchors ready for uſe. The two rope walks are 18000 feet long.

Theſe are the principal public buildings in this city; but I ſhould obſerve, that others, not of this conſequence, will attract the attention of the traveller; ſuch as the works of the harbour, the ſluices, the baſtions, with each a windmill, ſeveral bridges, &c. As to Hoſpitals, there are a vaſt number of them, but the architecture of the edifices is nothing; it is, however, highly worthy of obſervation, that all the poor of Amſterdam (and indeed of all the Provinces) are maintained by charity or public foundations, there being no poor's tax in any country in Europe, except England: the ſame funds ſupport all the Hoſpitals, in which are above twenty thouſand ſouls.

At great numbers of houſes, and at all pubpublic ones, or that in which any public buſineſs is tranſacted, there are poor's-boxes, in which it is very indecent not to put ſomething on all ſales, auctions, conſiderable bargains, &c. which are collected and kept by the treaſurers of the poor, called here the poor's deacons: theſe alſo appoint certain perſons to go through the city for alms, on certain

certain feſtivals, all which are applied to the ſame uſe: the theatres, and all public ſhews and ſpectacles of whatever kind, pay a third or an half of all their gains to the ſame end: theſe means do not always anſwer the amount that is neceſſary, and in ſuch caſe the government grants the remainder.

In all the towns of Holland they make excellent proviſion to force the idle to work. The houſe of correction is called a Raſp-Houſe, in which they ſhut up the idle poor, that can work and maintain themſelves, but will not. The employment they give them, is that of ſawing and raſping Brazil wood; in which, if they are not expeditious, they are ſeverely beaten: for offenders, particularly the lazy, they have an admirable contrivance; it is a cellar with a pump, into which they let water, ſo proportioned to the ſtrength of the perſon, that he ſhall be able, with infinite labour, in pumping it out, to ſave himſelf from drowning; which fate they are by law to ſuffer, if they do not eſcape it by this work; for thoſe, whoſe idleneſs is carried to an incorrigible length, this performance is excellently adapted. I was informed alſo, that theſe priſons are uſed for young men, whoſe debaucheries or ſquandering diſpoſitions threaten to ruin their healths or for-

tunes, being put in here by their fathers or other relations: I thought this very ſtrange, and put ſeveral queſtions concerning the extent of the power thus aſſumed, and what degrees of offence were to meet with this puniſhment, but could get no ſatisfactory account; nor do I apprehend it is the reſult of written laws, ſo much as antient cuſtom: women ſometimes put their huſbands in for extravagance.

As to churches in Amſterdam, the only one worthy of much attention is the new one, dedicated to St. Catharine; the ornamental parts of which are finiſhed in a moſt high manner. The pulpit is carved in the richeſt ſtile; the chancel is parted off by a railing of Corinthian braſs; the windows are finely painted; the organ is the beſt in the Low Countries, and they ſay here, in the world: it has a row of pipes deſigned to counterfeit a chorus of voices, but it performs it very badly: there are fifty two whole, beſides half ſtops, with two rows of keys for the feet, and three rows for the hands. The monuments erected to Van Ruyter and Van Galen are worth ſeeing. This edifice, however, is not finiſhed, though begun more than an hundred years ago: the ſteeple was deſigned to be much higher; more than 6000 piles

piles were driven into the ground in one hundred feet ſquare, as a foundation for it, but ſtill they thought the bogginess of the ground not ſufficiently remedied for ſupporting ſo vaſt a weight as this ſteeple would be if it was finiſhed.

The manufactures carried on in this city are more numerous and conſiderable, than any other place in the Seven Provinces: they weave all ſorts of cloths, woollens, ſtuffs, and ſilk, gold and ſilver ſilks, ribbons, tapeſtry, linen in large quantities, &c. all ſorts of fabrics in leather, with many in ivory and metals: they have a vaſt variety of mills for ſawing, poliſhing, &c. moſt bodies. Their ſail-cloth, and paper manufactories, are very conſiderable, and the printing of books ſhould not be forgotten: here are great numbers of bookſellers, who, it is thought, employ twice the preſſes that work at London: theſe books are exported to England, and ſome to the ſouthern parts of Europe, but vaſt numbers to all parts of Germany, Denmark, and the North.

Amſterdam contains near three hundred thouſand inhabitants.

The air of this city is ſo bad and foggy, that I can hardly believe the aſſertions of thoſe who aver it to be healthy: it is ſurrounded entirely by the ſea and marſhes;

the canals are very numerous, and not always free from noxious exhalations: the cleanlineſs indeed of the inhabitants is carried to as great a degree as any where elſe, but this by no means remedies the evil; for that eternal waſhing muſt add to the damps, which are otherwiſe ſo ſtriking in this country: the wholeſomeſt part of their cleanlineſs is that exerted in keeping their canals clean; but I muſt remark, that I ſaw no ſmall neglects of this moſt eſſential object.

They were formerly very attentive to have all carriageson ſledges, and drawn by only one horſe; this was certainly a wiſe precaution, conſidering that the whole city is on a foundation purely artificial, on piles; but this diſcipline is much relaxed, for I obſerved very many coaches on wheels: it is true, they pay a conſiderable tax, which, as the number of coaches increaſed, has been raiſed once or twice, and amounts now to about ſeven pounds ſterling a year; but ſtill as luxury increaſes, coaches on wheels increaſe, and the higher they are taxed, ſome ſenſible men here reckon, the more they would be.

The public income of Amſterdam, raiſed by taxes, and ſome public buildings, &c. amount to one million ſterling, per annum: there have lately been ſome conferences on the

the ſubject of raiſing them; and, it is ſaid, they will amount to one million two hundred thouſand pounds in five years, without burthening the lower claſſes more than at preſent.

Reſpecting trade, this is the grand emporium, not only of the United Provinces, but the center of all the commerce of Europe; for a general correſpondence it much exceeds London; but the general value and amount of London's trade much exceeds that of Amſterdam. Two thouſand ſail of ſhips annually enter this port, which muſt form a vaſt commerce. I do not, at preſent, enlarge on the different branches of the great trade, becauſe, in future chapters, I ſhall give an account of the trade of Holland, particularly reſpecting its preſent ſtate.

I have been very fortunate in my quarters at Amſterdam, being recommended to a private family in trade for lodgings: I dined for ſome days either at an ordinary, where I paid to the amount of ten ſhillings for my dinner, or at ſome merchants houſes to whom I was recommended, but afterwards I agreed to board with the family: they lived much better than I ſhould have ſuppoſed any people would do who let lodgings: the dinners were excellent, and dreſſed in the French

ſtile; but I paid twenty florins (at 1s. 8d.) a week for lodgings, and 17 more for board, that is, for ſelf and man: this would be very dear in London; but I could not have boarded and had handſome lodgings in London at all; this is owing to the difference of cuſtoms between the two cities.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Dutch Eaſt India Company.

THE Dutch India Company, I believe, is, without exception, the moſt conſiderable trading eſtabliſhment that ever appeared in the world: The conqueſts of the Portugueſe in the Indies, were atchieved under the command and power of the crown, and they were extended to an amazing degree; but with all the regal attention, they never equalled the dominion which the Dutch have gained under the direction of a private trading Company; in trade, their inferiority was greater ſtill, and in duration no compariſon can be admitted.

We are not to wonder at the great ſuperiority of this Company over all others; for ſucceeding to moſt of the Portugueſe acquiſitions, on the downfall of their power in the Eaſt, they laid ſuch a foundation of future power for themſelves, that no other Company ever had any thing like ſuch auſpicious beginnings. Add to this, it was firſt inpriority, and

enjoyed theſe noble advantages without rivals; France had not dreamt of trade at all; and England was without an Eaſt India Company, or an Eaſt India trade. Was a revolution to happen now in thoſe countries, ſimilar to that of the Portugueſe power, all the trading nations of Europe, who have commerce in the Indies, would divide the ſpoil between them; but in the caſe of which we are now treating, the Dutch came in for the whole.

Their acquiſitions were ſo extenſive, and, at the ſame time ſo very important, that the Company found it abſolutely neceſſary to their ſecurity to keep up a very ſtrong force by ſea and land in the Indies; this has given riſe to the very magnificent deſcriptions we have had of the great armies, navies, and ſtate of the Governor General at Batavia: Some of theſe circumſtances are exaggerated, but many of them appear to be very true. The number of iſlands, ſome of them the largeſt in the world, which are in their poſſeſſion or in their power, make it neceſſary that great fleets, and conſiderable land forces, ſhould be in readineſs at Batavia, and other ſettlements, in order to protect and defend ſuch numerous coaſts and countries.

But

But notwithſtanding advantages, ſuperior to thoſe of any other country in the Indies, this Company has been long on the decline; this has been principally owing to the eſtabliſhment of ſo many others; the Engliſh have robbed them more than any other country; France from 1720 to 1740 had a Company that flouriſhed ſo greatly, as to prevent all importation from Holland, except ſpices; and even exported much to Spain, Germany, and Italy. Denmark and Sweden, have between them ſupplied their reſpective inhabitants; ſo that the Dutch Company has not the benefit of the markets which ſhe once totally ſupplied; this muſt, in the nature of things, make a wonderful alteration in its affairs. But there are other reaſons for this declenſion, which are touched upon with ſome other very curious particulars, in an account of the preſent ſtate of their trade, given in by one of the Governors General; but as the paper never appeared in the Engliſh language, I ſhall take ſome extracts from it, which will make the reader acquainted with ſeveral particulars that deſerve attention.

"Without contradiction, the Eaſt India Company of Holland is not in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate as it was formerly; we may for this inſtance

inſtance ſeveral direct and indirect cauſes, which may be reduced to three principal ones. Firſt, the too great extent of their poſſeſſions in the Indies, which renders the adminiſtration leſs eaſy and more ſubject to inconveniencies. Secondly, to the exceſſive abundance of the productions of the Eaſt, and conſequently the diminution of their price in Europe. Laſtly, the relaxation of zeal and attention in the part of thoſe employed by the Company, for want of properly recompencing the merit of ſome, and puniſhing the miſdemeanors of others. The firſt of theſe cauſes is too evident to render any proofs neceſſary. We know how weak the origin of the Company was, to what a degree of power it increaſed within the ſpace of half a century; and how, at all ſucceeding times, an aggrandizement of ſtates, and territories too vaſt came to it. The ſecond cauſe can only be imputed to all the maritime nations of Europe, who, animated by the example of this Company, have applied themſelves, ſince the peace of Utrecht, to navigation and commerce; inſomuch, that after reckoning the freight, the intereſt of money, and the riſks of the ſea, there is ſcarcely any benefit reſults from moſt of the articles in this traffic, that are become common; to this

we

we muſt join a cultivation conſtantly carried on in different colonies, which has rendered ſo many productions much leſs rare, and greatly cheaper, than they were many years ago. A natural conſequence of the third cauſe is, that the Company's officers, prevented in many caſes from making their fortunes, and from recompencing themſelves in the manner which they think their due, have, inſtead of ſeeking with emulation to advance the intereſts of the Company, neglected all the opportunities, and ſubſtituted their own private intereſts for the public glory. We ſuppreſs other particulars, of which the detail would be odious. It is only to be wiſhed, that we may be able to indicate the moſt eaſy and efficacious means for remedying theſe evils. This is the object which we propoſe in the courſe of theſe obſervations; and which may be divided into three principal parts: that is to ſay, the navigation, commerce, and government of the Company.

I

The Navigation of the Company.

THE navigation to the Indies is the principle of the eſtabliſhment of the Company, and

and which ought to be conſidered, not only as a ſociety of merchants, but more ſtill as a commercial power. Conſidered under theſe two lights we may conceive the neceſſity of the ſhips being proper for carrying good cargoes, and not leſs capable of defending themſelves than attacking others in caſe of need. Nevertheleſs it is eaſy to diſcover, that the conſtruction of moſt part of their fleets has many obſtacles in the way of fulfilling theſe ends, or even equalling the perfections of foreign ſhips employed in the ſame trade.

By a ſerious attention to this defect, they might have eſcaped many evils, which they have a long time experienced, but principally of late years; evils which, beſides thoſe flowing from the ill-conſtruction of their ſhips, have not a little contributed to the incapacity of the perſons to whom they have been committed.

Naval architecture is not like many other ſciences, ſubject to ſuppoſitions; it has its principles and its rules. All depends on giving the building an equal and methodical ſtructure. It will not ſuffice to lengthen them ſome feet; for if we miſtake in the proportions of the general dimenſions, the fault muſt be irreparable. They reject thoſe of 160 feet, under pretence that they draw too much

much water for certain ports; and we remark, that other people enter thoſe ports with ſhips greater than theirs; ſtill they nevertheleſs conſtruct them from 135 to 150, or from 130 to 145. Every ſpecie is good and proper for the ſervice of the Company, provided that the largeneſs and depth be anſwerable to the length.

No objection holds againſt experience. If the entry of the ports is practicable for the ſhips of foreigners, if the banks of Bengal are not to them a hindrance, if other ſhips than thoſe of the Company navigate without riſk at Canton, and the ſame throughout China; what difficulty is there in their imitating other people, by building ſuch ſhips as they do, and which may be loaded and unloaded in all the ports? An eſſay of a few years would undoubtedly decide the ſucceſs, to the advantage of their commerce and navigation, not only in the Indies but in Europe itſelf; under the ſuppoſition of a better conduct with relation to the manœuvres of them.

In equipping the ſhips, it is alſo neceſſary that they regulate themſelves by the example of other nations, who, with 50 or 60 men, do more than the Company with an hundred. By following the models propoſed, the expences

pences would not exceed the common coſt; and without giving into any prejudices, the ſhips would be incomparably better, and the tranſport of merchandize much more prompt. There would alſo reſult from it, an augmentation of the naval forces of the Company, of which the moſt formidable ſquadron might be equipped in the Indies, but not merely for the defenſive. The interloper, the Apollo, is a proof of this, among many others; this ſhip, on its return to Europe, eſcaped through the Straits of Sincapour, by the force of ſailing, in ſpite of the efforts of five of the moſt conſiderable cruziers of the Company.

Thoſe which they have are more often employed in commerce than their real buſineſs; it follows therefore, that it is not always the intereſt of the Company to have them equipped at once; it would ſuffice to have them armed according to the exigence of the caſe.

One hundred and twenty men compoſe the ordinary crew of the largeſt ſhips of the Company in voyages back; in ſmaller ſhips, the number is about 100.

II.

The Navigation in the Indies.

THE paſſage from Europe to the Cape, is too long for the number of men which the Company annually embarks to arrive in health. In truth, the Chineſe ſhips of the Engliſh, that have hardly half the number, go from their ports, without touching at the Cape, directly by the Straits of Sunda; but they cannot bring them in compariſon with ours. It is to be wiſhed that the Company had ſome ſmall eſtabliſhment on this ſide the Equator, for the refreſhment of the ſhips. They might ſupply this defect by being allowed to put into St. Jago; where, after having refreſhed, they might continue their route to the Cape: The diſtance and the expence would be very trifling.

III.

The Navigation from the Indies to Holland.

WE cannot but be aſtoniſhed, that the ſhips of the Company are ſhipwrecked in their return from the Indies, when thoſe of other nations arrive ſafe in port. Theſe evils

evils are owing to two cauſes; one, the want of agility in the manœuvre; and the other, their being embarraſſed with the merchandize of individuals.

If it was poſſible to permit them to fill their empty caſks at St. Helena, and to provide live proviſion and paſturage, it would contribute much to the health of the crew, and the preſervation of the cattle. Perhaps the Iſle of Aſcenſion, which ought to be equally well known, might be as proper as the firſt. It is certain, that one or the other of theſe places of refreſhment would eaſe many of the ſhips in their return, in traverſing ſo long a voyage as from the Cape to Holland. Their holds being leſs taken up with caſks and proviſions, would contain a much greater quantity of merchandize.

I ſhall here preſent two other queſtions, not directly regarding the Indies. One, if in return, all the fleet ought to attend one bad ſailor? The other, if it is abſolutely neceſſary that the Company's ſhips ſhould make the tour of the North of Scotland and Ireland, inſtead of entering the Channel, which would abridge the courſe more than a month?

IV.

IV.

The Commerce of the Company in general.

IT is requiſite that commerce ſhould either be perfectly free, or entirely conſtrained. The mixed ſtate is ſubject to ſo many inconveniences, that it becomes more miſchievous than advantageous. We cannot here give the ſhackles, or preſcribe the bounds which depend not upon us alone: ſuch is the nature of that of the Company throughout the Indies, excepting the particular produce of the colonies, as ſpices, and other commodities, whereof they alone are in poſſeſſion; it is thus with the coffee of Java, and in part with the pepper; but principally the commerce of China. By permitting an entry in the river of Canton, although only to trade, the Chineſe rendered the Company its excluſive grant of navigating there alone, which was more prejudicial than any thing to foreign nations. If ſhe cannot at preſent equal them, it is a proof that they have already gained much ground, and that it will not be difficult for them to advance.

Her commerce in the Weſt of the Indies is in yet a worſe ſtate. She has the name of trafficking, while others have the effect: re-

ſerving the ſpiceries, and the copper of Japan in ingots, two articles into which her rivals cannot break. All that ſhe carries on, on this ſide, will not bear any comparriſon with the lucrative trades of the Engliſh and French; for, one of her ſhips, which enters the Ganges, there are not leſs than five of thoſe nations; and the city of Surat, ſo famous for its commerce, receiving millions, touch nothing of the Dutch. Mocha, Jeda, Baſſora, all Perſia, and the coaſt between the Perſian Gulph, and the river Indus, ought to be in the laſt ſurpriſe, at thoſe amazing quantities of merchandize, in which they trade every year, without ſeeing more than the arrival of a ſingle ſhip of the Company half loaded, and whereof the cargo is not worth more than an hundred thouſand florins.

It is a long time ſince their competitors have been ſeen granting to individuals, paſſports, and letters of protection, under their colours, and of which the returns are well worth theſe favours. The Dutch, on the contrary, are unmoved ſpectators of this management, and are contented with their navigation of Batavia in right, and of ſome other ports, after having abandoned thoſe of Siam, Pegu, Arracan, Achin, and others, which

which foreigners, doubtleſs, would not daily frequent if they did not find their benefit in it?

But what are the articles eſſential and moſt uſeful to the Company? Without contradiction, the ſpices, and copper in ingots. The remainder, as pewter, lead, vermilion, quickſilver, camphire, &c. of which the trade is in common with other nations, and where of there are generally a good market, it is not any great matter.

But to return to theſe quarters that limit themſelves in ſending to Europe ſtuffs, pepper, ſalt petre, and other minutiæ of leſs value: as to the ſtuffs and opium on the Weſtern coaſts of Samatra, the Company has only the commerce of the laſt article, from Baros to the point of Indrapora; and the ſame in the Weſtern Provinces, in a part of the Malaccas, of Jambi, Palembang, and Timor. The returning of opium would alſo be left, if it was not advantageous to Batavia; but where is its commerce of callicoes in the comptoirs under its dependence, if we except thoſe which are made along the Weſt coaſt of Sumatra?

The traffic of the Weſtern comptoirs is ſo pitiful, that the article of ſugars will not ſuffice for returning what they coſt the Com-

pany, in ſending them to Surat, Malabar, Coromandel, Mocha, or Perſia; it will not defray the expences of the eſtabliſhments, which they maintain, and of the ſhips. The profits have not anſwered the expences for many years. It is in vain to alledge, that this expence is ſubmitted to as neceſſary for enjoying the important benefit of the ſpices, and the copper; theſe two articles do principally regard the Coromandel coaſt; and the being in poſſeſſion of them, does credit to the government.

When the Company reduces its commerce to theſe two articles, would ſhe not loſe for them the benefit of the reſt; and how many expences will ſhe ſave by the reſtriction? Inſtead of maintaining in a number of places, a director and his ſuite, who form a council, it would ſuffice, that one was employed of a certain rank, with two aſſiſtants. This ſaving would retrench the expences one half.

In the general reform of the actual ſyſtem of the Company, and particularly its commerce in the Weſt, we do not comprehend the iſle of Ceylon, although the moſt conſiderable, and the comptoir, the moſt ſtrong of that part, not only from its productions of cinnamon, but becauſe that is the only colony which the Company enjoys excluſively,

cluſively, and may continue to enjoy as miſtreſs. In theſe reſpects, which are very different from other eſtabliſhments, ſhe ought to be diſtinguiſhed, by regulating her conduct upon the actual circumſtances of commerce in thoſe quarters, which change from time to time.

All that remains of Bengal, the Coromandel, the Weſtern coaſt of Sumatra, Malabar, Surat, Perſia, and the Red Sea, the Company ought to reſerve with the trade of ſpices and copper in ingots; taking nothing in return but what is proper for Europe; and making Batavia the center of a free commerce, open to all the reſt. By this, that city would become a redoubted rival to their competitors; and by means of moderate imports, its commerce would procure the Company real advantages, inſtead of the benefit ſhe at preſent finds in ſuch equivocal accounts.

V.

Of the Commerce of China.

THE commerce between Batavia and China, is very different from that which is made directly with Europe. The one cannot be too much encouraged, nor too much managed; the other, although important, is

much declined by the great number of foreign ſhips, which, through emulation of one another, frequent the ports of that empire. It muſt alſo be conſidered, that the ſhips of the Company, which go from Batavia to traffic with China, and from whence they return to Holland, contribute to make a commerce languiſh already ſo divided. Not that they ſhould give it up; it is requiſite to continue it, but with moderation. When things have changed their face at Batavia, one ſingle ſhip would ſuffice for this traffic. Tea conſtitutes the moſt conſiderable branch of commerce between China and Europe: Without this article the ſhips could not return half loaded; the reſt, not being important enough for compenſating the expences of the freight, no perſon would undertake it.

This production alſo makes the principal object of the commerce between Batavia and China; for although the junks kept for the uſe of the colonies, for porcelane, potteries, tobacco, paper, and an hundred other minutiæ, the tea is always the merchandize which makes the beſt return for their expences and care. The quantity, which comes annually by Batavia to Holland, whether on board the Company's ſhips, or thoſe of individuals, is actually known only to the merchants.

merchants. It is probable that the propoſed arrangements would prevent, on the ſide of individuals, the tranſport of that production, but it would alſo facilitate the importation to Batavia; which would at once make the trade of the junks decline.

It may be made a queſtion, whether it is for the intereſt of the Company, that they ſhould buy all the tea, which the Chineſe bring to Batavia? The reaſons for and againſt it are equally ſolid. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that ſo conſiderable a purchaſe would cauſe an embarraſſment and an interruption in the traffic of the junks; the more the Chineſe are ſubject to the ſales of the Company, the more they are maſters of the ſale of their tea; after inſpection, proof and eſtimation made, beſides the formalities which decide if the Company retains it for her account or not. In caſe ſhe contents herſelf with adhering to the antient cuſtom, and loads a ſhip with tea, received on the return of the ſupercargoes from China; ſhe need not then mix in that commerce more than for the collection of her duties, but leave to the proprietors the liberty of diſpoſing of their merchandize as they like, which would be much more ſimple, and more advantageous.

Certainly this propoſition is of conſequence, eſpecially if we conſider that there come every year into the United Provinces more than three millions of pounds of tea, not comprized in the accounts of the Company, which reaps no profit from a tranſport ſo conſtant, and ſo prodigious; inſtead of which, this commerce ought to be made at the ſame time lucrative to them, and advantageous to individuals. A ſhip loaded with tea, but with a reſerved fund, will contain about 600,000 pounds; which ſold, will, one with another, yield 20 ſols, or 240,000 florins to the Company. The expences of embarking it at Batavia, which is valued at two per cent, on the ſale; and which, with the expence of the voyage to Europe, does not exceed the ſum of 60,000 florins: therefore the Company profits about 200,000, without other diſburſements or riſks than that of building, &c. This amounts to a million in five ſhips, beſides 200,000 florins profit, on the ſilver in making the return.

VI.

VI.

Of the Commerce of the Company, relative to other articles.

THE trade of pepper belongs excluſively to the Company, in virtue of its treaties with the Princes of the country. She ought to preſerve this trade with the greateſt care, and maintain this acquiſition with dignity, agreeable to her power, ſo very conſiderable in thoſe quarters. It is the ſame at Bantam and Palemburgh, and alſo on the greateſt part of the coaſt of Malabar. We know, that the direction of this commerce is ſubject to very great abuſes; it is particularly neceſſary to ordain, that the pepper, which the Company appropriates, be ready for ſale before the departure of the junks.

Another part of their commerce, which in ſpite of its declenſion, for many years, ought alſo to be preſerved, and which is that of Japan. The re-eſtabliſhment of the affairs of that comptoir depend, only upon integrity and vigilance.

It has been along time agitated, both in Holland, and in the Indies, whether the navigation of individuals, between the Eaſtern Provinces and Batavia, was favourable or not

to

to the Company. Without deciding abſolutely upon this point, we may remark, that the abolition of this privilege would be very hard upon the poorer communities of thoſe quarters, which furniſh the maintenance of that capital; beſides, nothing would be gained by it; for, by oppreſſing the inhabitants of Amboina and Banda, they would cut off the reſource, and favour the fraud and malverſation in the delivery of the cloves, (of which the commerce is ſo precious to the Company), and would become more chargeable than advantageous. There is no occaſion to prohibit to individuals the navigation of Macaſſar and Amboina, becauſe this province is the grainery of rice for thoſe quarters; and for the ſame reaſon reſpecting the people of Batavia, whoſe inhabitants are accuſtomed to bring the oils of the Gulph of Cajili; alſo ſlaves, and many other ſmaller articles.

As to the commerce of the Philippines, or Manilla, their capital, has too great a connection with that of the Company to be paſſed over in ſilence. On one ſide, theſe iſlands receive annually, by the regiſter-ſhip, the ſtuffs of the Indies, and other merchandize, which they are in want of: on the other, they are provided with cinnamon, which is much

much uſed. This laſt commerce regards the Company; the other, although more important, carries itſelf on without her participation, by the way of Surat, Bombay, Porto Novo, Madras, Bengal, and by the Strait of Malacca to the Philippines. For a number of years, this commerce of individuals, which is fraudulent, and contrary to antient orders, has been carried on under the name of the Armenians, &c. By favour of this toleration, it has been ſo eſtabliſhed, that it would be difficult at preſent to throw any obſtacle in the way of it, without ruining that of Batavia with thoſe quarters, which would by no means be practicable. It is nevertheleſs certain, that the Philippines ought to be an object of the Company's attention, who has much intereſt in obſerving well all theſe neighbouring iſlands.

Coffee has been for a long time one of the beſt articles in which the Company trades; at preſent, it ſeems rather to fail; ſo ſuſceptible of viciſſitudes is all commerce: pepper, on the contrary, which has been overcharged, poſſeſſes a ſale ſo conſiderable in Europe, that there is no fear of a ſuperfluity: with coffee they can do no better than accommodate themſelves to the times.

Sugar

Sugar is another article much lower than it was heretofore. Upon ſtrong complaints coming from Batavia, the regency employed itſelf in ſeeking the cauſes of the decreaſe. In 1740, in purſuance of ſome advice offered them, new regulations were made; but the event was ſo far from anſwering, that leſs was made by it than before. This is too important a branch of commerce to be given up, and it ſerves at preſent to fill up the ſhips when in want of ſaltpetre.

VII.

Of the Poſſeſſions, Colonies, and Eſtabliſhments of the Company.

THERE is a diſtinction to be made between the ſeveral territories in the Indies, ſubject to the Company, and thoſe where they have only the privilege or the cuſtom of navigating with views of commerce. The firſt requires ſomething more majeſtic than an eſtabliſhment; the ſecond, demands only factories for the traffic, and magazines for the merchandize. The firſt of theſe claſſes comprehends Jacatra, Ceylon, Amboina, the iſles of Banda, part of Macaſſar, and in ſome reſpect, the Malabar. The ſecond contains moſt of the places ſituated in the Weſtern Parts

Parts of the Indies, as Bengal, Coromandel, Surat, Perſia, and Mocha. The weſtern coaſt of Sumatra belongs not entirely to them; and Malacca is held rather as a frontier, which might be abandoned were it not for the colonies or ſettlements of commerce. Ternate and Macaſſar cover the two coaſts of the iſles from which they draw the ſpices, and therefore ought to be in a ſtate of defence: they might alſo ſub-divide theſe claſſes into places where they reſide only for cultivating the friendſhip of the Indian Princes, as at Palembang, Jamba, the comptoirs of Java and Bantam.

When we conſider under theſe diſtinctions, theſe different countries, their extent and their diſtance, we ſhall be obliged to agree, that the Company has puſhed a little too far its commerce and its navigation; and that, when ſhe reduces herſelf to narrower bounds, ſhe will ſave great and ſuperfluous expences, and would not gain leſs treaſure.

VIII.

Of the Colonies of Ceylon and the Spice-Iſlands.

Beſides the kingdom of Jacatra, Macaſſar, and a part of Ternate, the company poſſeſſes the property of Ceylon, Amboina, and Banda. There is in the laſt of theſe iſles no other power,

power; but although we find many princes in that of Amboyna, ſhe is not the leſs acknowledged ſovereign of the extent of its territory which belongs to her. Theſe domains are thoſe which are juſtly called by the title of the Dutch colonies, and where the parade, worthy of majeſty, is abſolutely neceſſary. The fruits which the Company draw from them, recompence them largely for the expence, and inſure them the better the peaceable poſſeſſion of theſe territories, which are the only reſource of the Company. It is, nevertheleſs true, that their commerce is declined, but there are means of repairing the loſs, or at leaſt of preventing the further decline of it.

The Spice-Iſlands require to be kept in a good ſtate of defence, and the colonies to be well provided for. Thoſe, who have been upon the ſpot, know how much they have neglected theſe articles. Banda is ſtrong by its ſituation and its caſtles; Amboina, on the contrary, is ſo weak, that although they have known, for more than an age, the bad ſtate of its fortifications, they have never dreamt of putting them in order. The conjunctures will not always permit the execution of enterprizes ſo expenſive; but, if they had every year done a little, the work would long ago

ago have been finiſhed. The declenſion of the colony of Ambiona, is perceptible in the diminution of the crops of cloves, which are the principal product of that iſland, and the moſt material part of the public revenue. It is more than fifteen years that they have not only permitted, but even ordained new plantations; without which, in abundance, the want would not be removed. It is the fault of thoſe oppreſſors employed in the ſervice of the Company, who, for a long time, have devoured every thing for their own ſubſiſtence, and who, not content with a legal benefit, tread every thing under foot, till the inhabitants, are diſguſted with their labours, of which they ſee all the advantages paſs to other hands.

The only means that we know of redreſſing the affairs of the Molucca Iſlands, conſidered as a private colony of the Company, are to recommend the culture of the lands in Manado, and alſo in the other neighbouring iſles, and to augment the purchaſe of gold duſt, if it be poſſible, in order, thereby, to render more ſupportable the expence occaſioned by this frontier.

IX.

IX.

Batavia and Jacatra.

IT is certainly for the glory of the Company, to intereſt herſelf in the ſplendor and aggrandizement of Batavia; this has been univerſally acknowledged, as true in all times, from the making that city the baſis of her eſtabliſhment in the Eaſt-Indies, and the arrangements that have been taken in conſequence, have been accompanied with a ſucceſs ſo rapid and ſo ſtriking, that at preſent this capital may be named the Queen of the Eaſt, as well for the number of its inhabitants, as with reſpect to its magnificence. The revenues which the Company draws from that colony, and its dominions, in the kingdom of Jacatra, are eſtimated at one million of florins; but they muſt be more than that, if we comprehend the duties on the ſale of merchandiſe, thoſe upon the fiſhery, and many others, which have been ceded for the erection and maintenance of a privy council.

We have ſaid, and we repeat it, that if the Company would reſerve the commerce of the Indies with Europe, and in the Indies, the returns from the comptoirs to the Weſt; if ſhe would collect in the capital, the two prin-

cipal

cipal articles of the commerce of the Eaſt, which are the ſpices and the copper of Japan in ingots: if with theſe ſhe was to reduce her ordinary expences to a reaſonable mediocrity; if ſhe took care to provide her colonies with all the neceſſaries for drawing from them the fruits required; if, in fine, ſhe granted to each the liberty of navigation and traffic, with an exception to the Eaſt of Batavia, it is not to be doubted, but that city would become, in a ſhort time, the center of commerce, and the ſource of a fruitful opulence; it would be the retirement of rich men, who would fix themſelves there by choice, as a retreat, or with deſign of diſpoſing of their fortunes to the beſt account. They ought to be inſpired with the utmoſt emulation, to neglect nothing that may render life eaſy and agreeable, particularly by abundance, and an uniform price of commodities.

Numbers of families, who have been ſpread through divers territories in the Indies, prefer living in this capital, where there reigns more than any where elſe, abundance, repoſe, and ſecurity, under the protection of the Company. The Chineſe have began to cultivate the lands, which is a forerunner, to them, of a perfect and extended culture. The lands

of Preanger, ſituated about a day's journey and half from Batavia, produce, although they are not the beſt, and in ſpite of the little care that has been hitherto taken of them, peaſe, beans, cabbages, and other legumes. What might not be gained from the lands of Java, the fineſt and moſt fertile in the world, if they were cultivated as they ought!

We know by experience, that thoſe of the Dutch nation are not proper for labour: whether from vanity or idleneſs they diſdain this ſort, and love better to live in indigent idleneſs. For which reaſon, it would be proper to employ, in agriculture, the Saltzburgh countrymen, the Palatines, or others, who might embark ſucceſſively, ten or more, on board every ſhip the Company ſends. In a few years there would then be labourers enough for cultivating the lands, and improving the new ones. No perſon can doubt that theſe men would find in the Indies an honeſt ſubſiſtence, from taking a very little care about it: for without burthening themſelves with the coffee of the Company, nor exhauſting the country by plantations of ſugar, which ought to be left to the Chineſe, the ſingle article of pepper might furniſh the wants of more than a thouſand. It would be right for them, during the

the five firſt years, to advance an hundred crowns, to place them in a ſtate of procuring the neceſſary utenſils for cultivation, that they might be able to ſubſiſt, during the time of getting their lands in order. The reimburſement of theſe ſums ſhould be made as ſoon as their circumſtances would permit."

The extracts which I have here given of this memoir, and which was written by one of the Governor Generals of the Eaſt Indies, contain many very curious particulars. They let us into ſeveral important circumſtances attending that famous Company, which are no where elſe to be met with: it appears evidently that there is much ſhew in the immenſity of the commerce they carry on; and thoſe, who are ſo eager to rival the Dutch in the Indies, ought certainly to make a ſtrong diſtinction between the trades they carried on: we find that it would be for the advantage of the Company, to lay open all the commerce of the Eaſt to their own ſubjects, except that of ſpice, and copper of Japan; the other branches add much to their expences, but not proportionably to their profit. Theſe are objects which it much behoves any other nation to get a ſhare in, though none have a great reaſon to hope it,

except the Spaniards; their being poſſeſſed of the Phillippines might render them terrible rivals of the Dutch; for in thoſe iſlands the product of cinnamon is common, and, in all probability, nutmegs and cloves might alſo be cultivated with equal ſucceſs; but theſe advantages are in the hands of ſo lazy and unenterprizing a people, that the Dutch have little reaſon to fear any thing they will do.

But a circumſtance of great moment in this memoir, is the clear proof we have in it, of the decline in their Eaſt India affairs. Whether or not the author is exactly right in all his obſervations on this head is not of much importance; but the general fact on which he grounds them, the decline of trade, is extremely evident. Now it is very obſervable, that this decline has taken place in the midſt of general peace, without any accidents, or ſudden changes that could affect the commerce; this gives one no ſlight reaſon to conclude, that the author is not right in his propoſals of abandoning that part of the traffic, which does not equal the reſt, merely with a view to contract expences: the real fact is, that great ſucceſs in all trades, in all branches of general commerce, is ever found to attend an high ſpirited and enterprizing period; times in which great undertakings

are common, and in which trade and war go hand in hand: the foundation and progreſs of the Dutch republic itſelf is a ſtriking proof of this; and that of their Eaſt India Company is equally to be produced as a ſimilar inſtance. While the ſpirit of enterprize and conqueſt laſted, the trade of the Company flouriſhed; but the moment they ſet themſelves down quietly to enjoy what they had gained, from that time their commerce declined. The Portugueſe experienced minutely the ſame fate; that vaſt commerce which they poſſeſſed in the Indies, was all raiſed in the midſt of war and bold enterprizes: in the preſent age, the Engliſh Company perform the greateſt feats in the field, and is conſtantly engaged in war; do we not find in this period, while the expences occaſioned by ſuch war run higher than ever known, that the trade of the Company is alſo greater, and its affairs in general more proſperous than ever known? The dead calm of peace is good for nought but breeding corruptions, and ſlackening all diſcipline; but in the din of war, and the hurry of enterprize, there is a keenneſs in every mind, which has a beneficial effect on all tranſactions whether of arms or commerce; beſides, difficulties ariſe, and are met with on

every hand, which for ever keep activity awake, and make commerce proſper better than when every gale is favourable, and every ſea is calm; nothing is ſo much to be dreaded by a commercial people, as that ſlothful inactivity which long eaſe and ſecurity are ſure to bring. I have been led into theſe reflections by the obſervations which are commonly made on the Eaſt India Company of England; many perſons have found much fault with the idea of wars and conquests, but let me remark, that the more of them the better; when once it ceaſes to be a ſpirited, enterprizing, warlike company, it will ceaſe to be an advantageous trading one.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Preſent State of the Dutch Commerce in Europe.

TRAVELLERS too often, for the ſake of amuſing their readers, ſacrifice the more uſeful objects: I do not apprehend that a journey through Holland, with ſome reſidence in the principal cities, ſhould produce nothing more than a deſcription of canals and town-houſes; on the contrary, I think it more uſeful to lay before one's readers, ſuch accounts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, as can be gained both by converſation with the natives, and alſo an examination of their beſt writers, with proper extracts from ſuch parts as never appeared in our language; by theſe means, a traveller is enabled to mix the uſeful with the agreeable, and give better and more modern accounts of theſe matters, than other writers who have preceded him. I conducted myſelf on this plan in the laſt chapter,

ter, and I ſhall do the ſame here, but taking different guides.

The BALTIC.

BEFORE the act of navigation in England, the commerce of the Baltic employed from a thouſand to twelve hundred ſhips of Holland, which, for the moſt part, went half loaded, and returned wholly ſo; the commerce of Norway, alone, employed three hundred ſhips every year, of four or five hundred tons. The act of navigation having reſtrained the carrying trade of the Dutch to her ports to the ſingle commodities produced in Holland, their commerce with the North at once ſuffered a great diminution; and the increaſe of the Engliſh marine augmented in England the conſumption of the commodities of the North, proper for the conſtruction of ſhips; which weakened the commerce of the Dutch in the northern ſeas, by the competition of the Engliſh, infinitely diſadvantageous to the Dutch merchants in all their ſales. Theſe two cauſes, which flow from the ſame principle, are the reaſon of the actual ſtate of the commerce of the Dutch with the

the North, which is reduced to half that which England poſſeſſes at preſent.

	Rubles.	
The importations at Peterſburgh of merchandize from Holland, in 1753, amounted to	47,691	58
The exportations to	344,792	3 ½
Exceſs of the importations of merchandize upon the exportations.	131,699	26 ½
In 1754, the importations aroſe to	396,797	23. ½
The exportations to	317,835	69. ½
Exceſs.	81,961	54 ½

We may therefore value the importations of the Dutch in merchandize from Peterſburgh, at a common year, in time of peace, at two millions, or two millions and a quarter of livres, or about one hundred thouſand pounds; and the exports to ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred thouſand livres, or about ſeventy thouſand pounds; and the exceſs of the importations on the exportations, at from four to ſix hundred thouſand livres, or about twenty one thouſand pounds. The increaſe of the Engliſh marine, ſince the act of navigation, has doubled five times over, in their ports, the conſumption of the products of the North, proper for the conſtruction

tion of their armaments. The conſtant application of England to acquire the empire of the ſea, has given them to underſtand, that the principal means of following it conſiſted in a great navigation, and a great commerce; and that nation has likewiſe procured itſelf, by the ability of the negotiators of its treaties of commerce, the greateſt advantages. It is under the protection of theſe treaties that England has eſtabliſhed houſes of commerce in the North, above all at Peterſburgh, and in much greater number than the Dutch, and infinitely more rich; for this commerce requires foreign houſes to have great funds for providing and contracting with advantage, both in the ſales, and alſo in the purchaſes made. It is the Engliſh who give price to the merchandize of Ruſſia, and who give the tone to the commerce.

If we judge of the commerce of the Engliſh in the North, by that which they carry on at Peterſburgh, we may conceive them to have half the trade of the Baltic. According to an account ſent from a houſe at Peterſburgh, out of 327 ſhips which entered in 1753, there were

149 Engliſh
70 Dutch
3 French
8 Ruſſian

8	Ruſſian
25	Lubeckers
18	Daniſh
21	Mecklengburghers
6	Dantzickers
2	Hamburghers
10	Stetiners
1	Holſteiner
14	Swediſh
327	Total.

	Rubles.
The exportations from England in merchandize to Peterſburgh, in 1753, was	2,084,489 70 ½
The importations in merchandize only	999,963 67
Exceſs of the exportations	1,084,524 3 ½
In 1754, the exportations amounted to	2,207,924 24 ½
The importations in merchandize	989,693 92 ½
Exceſs of the exportations	1,218,230 31 ½

We may therefore value the exportations of the Engliſh to Peterſburgh, in merchandize, one year with another, in time of peace, at from ten to twelve millions of livres, or near

near five hundred thouſand pounds. Their importations at five millions, or near two hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; and the balance at five or ſix millions of livres. In time of war, the exceſs is much greater, as England imports from Ruſſia a much greater quantity of hemp for her maritime armaments.

The general merchandize exported to Peterſburgh in 1753 amounted to	3,461,383 62
The merchandize entered	3,220,623 76
Exceſs of the exportations	240,759 85
In 1754, the exportations amounted to	3,577,939 99
The importations to	3,279,097 88
Exceſs of exportations	298,842 10

We may therefore value the balance of exportation and importation in the total trade of Peterſburgh, during theſe two years of peace, at from twelve to fifteen hundred thouſand livres, or about ſixty thouſand pounds. The total of the trade being from thirty-three to thirty-five millions of livres, or about one million four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

Such is the picture which may be given of the progreſs of induſtry in Ruſſia, if we may believe

believe the miniſters of that empire. It is true, that the government has given much attention to gaining all ſorts of manufactures, particularly all ſtuffs of wool, ſilk, and linens, which they partly effect by their miniſters at foreign courts ſeducing workmen to go thither. But as they act upon bad principles, the ſucceſs is not anſwerable to their hope. Foreigners, tranſported thus to Ruſſia, are unhappy, and their induſtry is not natural to the country.

The commerce of Holland with Norway is principally for timber, in return for which the Dutch pay large ſums of money: with Sweden ſhe trades for iron, and ſome naval ſtores, for which ſhe ſends all the products of the Eaſt Indies, and of the ſouthern parts of Europe, but have been much rivalled therein by the French. Her principal Baltic trade is with Dantzick, from whence ſhe brings amazing quantities of corn, and in return ſupplies Poland, through that city, with more commodities than any other nation in Europe, particularly in Eaſt India goods, wines, brandy, and all ſorts of manufactures.

GERMANY.

THE trade of very conſiderable tracts in the North of Germany centers at Hamburgh, which can be conſidered only as a rival of Holland; but the central and Southern parts of the empire are ſupplied, in a great degree, by the Dutch: they have a large trade with Bremen and Emden, for the ſupply of the interior country; but the commerce of the Rhine is moſt conſiderable; the Dutch alone have this trade, and they regard themſelves almoſt as the proprietors of the navigation of that river: this navigation goes far into Switzerland, and by means of the Moſelle, the Maine, and the Neckar, a prodigious extent of populous country, with many great towns, are connected, and trade immediately to Holland. The induſtrious city of Nuremburgh ſends a variety of manufactures, particularly toys, of which in England there is a vaſt conſumption, and which are called Dutch toys, becauſe we have them from Holland. It is neceſſary to be explanatory of this inland trade, as the writers in the Engliſh language, who have treated of the commerce of the Dutch, have generally overlooked it.

By

By means of the navigation of the Rhine, the Dutch ſerve the four Electorates of the Rhine, Sarbruck, Deux Ponts, Baden, Wurtemburg, the Briſgau Spireback, Alſace, almoſt all Switzerland, and the greateſt part of Loraine, with all ſorts of ſpiceries, drugs, oils, rice, whalebone, tin, copper, braſs wire, ſugar, tea, coffee, the wines of France and Spain, brandies, dried fruits, dried and ſalted fiſh, &c. Of moſt of theſe commodities there is an immenſe conſumption in almoſt all this extent of country. Holland maintains by her commerce that of Frankfort, which is only a grand magazine, ſubordinate to thoſe of Holland; ſo that almoſt all the connections, all the correſpondencies, and the commerce of that city, which extend themſelves far into Germany, are nothing but a commerce at ſecond hand, of which that of Holland is the firſt.

The woods which come to the Dutch by the Neckar and the Rhine; the wines of the Rhine and the Moſelle, the pot aſhes, the iron, the tobacco of Swabia, the Palatinate, and of Spireback, are all very rich, and make the principal articles of the returns in this commerce. The loadings of the boats which come to Cologne, are for the greateſt part of fine merchandize, inſomuch that the loading

loading of a ſingle barge often amounts to five or ſix hundred thouſand florins. Such is the idea of the foundation of this commerce, that we muſt, for diſcovering the whole amount and advantages, obſerve the markets in Holland and Germany, and in the other countries that take a part. We muſt conſider Holland as the regular and forced market, where all theſe countries buy all the commodities named above, both for their own uſe, and ſale of the ſuperfluity. We ought, at the ſame time, to diſtinguiſh the reſpective proprietors of the commodities, and the merchants who come in between thoſe proprietors; and obſerve, that it is by means of theſe merchants that there exiſts any bargains and ſales, freights, or return, if we except the article wood, which is all done by commiſſion. No merchant in Holland makes his purchaſes in Germany, nor ſends any thing from Holland on his own account, with exception of wines, becauſe they do not ſend the wines of any country to Holland to ſell, but by commiſſion; and wood is bought only by commiſſion at the firſt hand: the wine and timber merchants of Holland contract upon the ſpot themſelves. There are alſo little traders in Holland, who charge themſelves with conducting

ing merchandize of this ſort in their own boats to Cologne; their commerce extends no further: they remain at Cologne till they have made their ſale, and purchaſed a loading for a return; theſe loadings are not rich; and there are not, perhaps, ten barges in Holland that uſe this commerce, on account of the proprietors.

All the reſt of the commerce of the Rhine, both out and home, is carried on by commiſſion; they ſell in Holland by commiſſion the hides, pot-aſhes, corn, and tobacco. Some Dutchmen ſpeculate in theſe articles, and in making their purchaſes at the place; this however is rare. All the merchants, thoſe from Franckfort as well as all the other cities concerned in the navigation of the Rhine, make their purchaſes at Amſterdam, or Rotterdam, by their correſpondents. The boats, which make the navigation from Holland to Cologne, have only a commerce in freight from the proprietors; neither have they any intereſt in the purchaſe or ſale of the merchandize with which they are loaded; and this trade, by freighting, extends no farther than Cologne, where the merchandize is unloaded, and loaded again on board the boats of the country.

The commerce of the Rhine is an object of more than ten millions a year; and beſides the profit that the Dutch make upon the purchaſe and ſale of the merchandize, this trade further gives three precious branches, which are of the moſt ſolid benefit; the freight of the navigation from Holland to Cologne, and from Cologne to Holland, the commiſſion and the circulation of credit, which is a regular benefit without any riſk. In calculating theſe three extenſive branches at a value of more than one hundred millions, it is eaſy to form an idea of the ſolid benefits which Holland draws from the navigation of the Rhine.

If the duties which have been impoſed at Weſel, on the navigation of this river, are ſuch as render the navigation of Holland to Cologne dearer than the carriage by land, either from Maeſtricht to Cologne, or from Bruſſels to Treves, it is not to be doubted but the Sovereign of Weſel, and his ſubjects, will loſe entirely all benefits ariſing from the navigation of the Rhine. All the commerce of Holland, which is made by that river, might equally be made by taking the Rhine at Cologne, and the route by land from Maeſtricht to Cologne, or by taking the Moſelle at Treves: the trade might equally

equally be followed in theſe two routes; and it would in ſuch a caſe happen, that the great duties impoſed at Weſel, which the Sovereign has reduced to a branch of his revenues, would produce ſcarce any thing; but at the ſame time would be ruinous to his ſubjects. Theſe two new routes, which commerce would be forced to take, would add, without a doubt, a new value to merchandize; above all, to that which would be ſent by the route of Maeſtricht to Cologne; for this carriage by land could not be leſs than three or four per cent. on the merchandize, and perhaps more, if we conſider the incumbrance on the merchandize that returns.

Reſpecting the route of Bruſſels to Treves, the government of the Low Countries is too enlightened and too wiſe not to favour, with all its protection, the tranſport of the commerce of Holland by that way, if the duties impoſed at Weſel obliged the Dutch to take it. This route would become, perhaps, leſs advantageous than that of Maeſtrecht to Cologne, and might do, inſtead of it, if the navigation of the Rhine was loaded with heavy duties.

We, nevertheleſs, ought not to diſſemble, in allowing that great miſchief would reſult

from burthening this navigation with too great duties. But this evil would fall principally upon all that part of Germany, which exports its timber and other commodities by the Neckar, the Maine, the Moselle, and the Rhine. The proprietors would be forced to sell all their commodities at a low price, for sustaining the competition of merchandize of the same sort in the markets of Holland; and their timber forced to support such heavy duties, because unable to be conveyed by any other navigation, would necessarily drop to a contemptible price.

The commerce of the Maese is not an object so important, but the navigation through the country of Liege is of consequence; it makes a great consumption of spice, sugar, tea, coffee, drugs, fish, hides, and many of the commodities of the Indies. Holland draws from thence arms of all sorts, hides, charcoal, utensils of iron of all sorts, &c. She carries by land from Nimeguen the manufactures of woollen stuffs, which are spread in great numbers in the environs of Liege, Aix la Chapelle, and in the country of Juliers, wools of all sorts, oil of olive, &c. &c. This article is very rich, since the only magazine which has been made of

their

theſe merchandize is at Nimeguen; for being carried by land to their deſtination, has enriched immenſely the commiſſioners.

FLANDERS.

THE Dutch furniſh to the Auſtrian provinces ſpices, ſugar, tea, coffee, drugs of all ſorts, cocoa, linens, India ſtuffs, raw hides, Spaniſh wool, copper, braſs, pot-aſhes, tin, lead, Rheniſh and Moſelle wines, thoſe of Spain, tobacco, oils, fiſh dry and ſalted, ivory, the fruits of Provence and Italy, ſilks, cotton, and all the merchandize of the Levant, flax-ſeed, timber for building, &c. They draw principally in return, corn, and coleſeed, linens, lace, bricks and ſtone, &c.

The commerce of theſe provinces is one of the moſt advantageous branches of that of Holland. She could not loſe two articles more intereſting than the ſale of printed linens, and of paper. The paper mills have been much increaſed of late years, and they have eſtabliſhed manufactures of printed linens and cottons, at Anvers; the Dutch will likewiſe loſe the commerce from the coleſeed of Brabant and Flanders, if they continue erecting coleſeed mills.

The adminiſtration of the Auſtrian provinces has made, from time to time, ſeveral efforts for drawing their commerce out of the hands of the Dutch; but theſe attempts are yet too weak, for giving a ſenſible decreaſe to the Dutch trade. Such are the burthens which they have laid on the importation of herrings from Holland; and the precautions taken for importing all the Spaniſh wool that is wanted at Oſtend, which the manufacturers at Limburg, Verviers, Juliers, Aix la Chapelle, &c. draw at preſent from Amſterdam and Rotterdam. It is certain, that the adminiſtration of the Low Countries will ſucceed, when they come to be directed on good principles, in providing theſe provinces by ſea with herrings and ſalted fiſh; but they can never make it an object of commerce with foreigners in competition with the Dutch, while the provinces remain ſo deſtitute of a marine. The article of the import of Spaniſh wool, eſtabliſhed at Oſtend with ſucceſs, cannot ſubſiſt to the detriment of the Dutch, any longer than the Republic does not prohibit the ſhips of its ſubjects from tranſporting the wool to any but its own ports; becauſe the merchants of the Low Countries, from whom they procure the commiſſions, are not in a ſtate of loading

loading the Spaniſh wools in ſhips of their own; they are obliged to freight the Dutch ſhips. If they undertook the navigation themſelves they could get no freight to Spain, conſequently, the trade would become ruinous to themſelves and the manufacturers. Thus the Dutch will preſerve all they poſſeſs of the commerce of the Auſtrian provinces, while thoſe provinces remain without a trading marine.

GREAT BRITAIN.

FROM the eſtabliſhment of the Republic there has always been a great trade between it and England in ſpite of the efforts of the envious of both nations, which are abſurdities; while France and England, are at all times rivals in doing miſchief the one to the other, and perhaps alſo to all the other nations of Europe: they have diſputed with each other in negociations of alliance with the Republic. Each of theſe two powers has preſented a ſyſtem of political intereſts to draw the friendſhip of the Republic: it is certain, that the French negotiators might make a merit of the greateſt and moſt ſenſible intereſts of commerce, nor could it be conceived poſſible for England to remove

the Republic from its rival, and to attach her by ſenſible motives: ſhe ought to employ intereſts ſuperior to thoſe which riſe immediately from commerce. Holland formerly carried on with England a very conſiderable one, for the ſituation in which commerce was in general through Europe: this has declined very much ſince 1651, the epocha of the act of navigation in England. The Dutch take of England, tobacco, tin, woollen goods, jewels, clincallery, corn, lead, &c. From Scotland and Ireland, ſalt beef and ſalmon, butter, tallow, hides, coal, &c. this commerce is almoſt entirely in favour of England. After the conſumption in Holland of this merchandize the remainder is exported, but does not yield the Dutch a profit of more than a million.

The duties or abſolute prohibition on foreign manufactures, particularly on linens ſent from Holland, are owing to the care with which Great Britain, and above all Ireland, has given to the culture of flax, and the making of linen. The exports from Holland are almoſt entirely reduced to ſpices, and England alſo gains the freight and the commiſſion of all that is furniſhed by Holland; ſo that if the balance between the two countries appears not ſo diſadvantageous

geous to the former as it really is, it is because this balance is so much affected by the interest of that immense proportion of the national debt of England, which belongs to the Dutch.

FRANCE.

THE commerce of Holland with France has been always very considerable, and of very great importance to the two nations; but above all to the French, by the prodigious quantity of merchandize which the Dutch draw from that kingdom, both for their own use, and for maintaining their commerce with other nations: but it may be truly said, that this commerce is also of much consequence to the Dutch, not only for their own necessary consumption, but by losing this trade they would also lose the benefit of their exportations to France; and in their importations, the benefit of their assortments for the North, a branch of freight and navigation very extensive, with all the accessary advantages of the magazines in Holland, of merchandize sent to and brought from France, articles infinitely precious in maintaining the population of the Republic. It therefore imports the Dutch much to cultivate

tivate with care this commerce, and to maintain their ſuperiority over the Hanſeatic towns, whoſe competition they have to ſuſtain.

It is not leſs true that the commerce of Holland is very intereſting to France, and that ſhe could not be removed from it without loſing the precious advantages of a great competition, and thoſe likewiſe which reſult from the interior conſumption of Holland, which is not to be deſpiſed; for if there are productions in France, which Holland cannot do without, there are alſo many others, and much interior conſumption, that would be wholly reſtrained, if France burthened this commerce. We may therefore hold it for a very plain and ſimple truth, that the immenſe commerce between Holland and France is reſpectively uſeful to the two nations, and that neither of them could burthen it without doing miſchief to the other, and alſo to themſelves.

We may divide in general the commerce which the Dutch carry on with France into two branches; the trade by land, and that by ſea. The firſt has for its object the manufactures, clincallery, and the modes which the Dutch draw from France by the Low Countries. The maritime commerce we know

know is carried from all the ports of that monarchy, and is not bounded by the productions of the kingdom; it embraces alſo thoſe of the Colonies, and ſome articles which her Eaſt India Company receives from her eſtabliſhment in the Indies and China. The Levant alſo furniſhes many articles of conſequence, by the way of Marſeilles, which enter into the commerce of Holland with France.

The interior conſumption of Holland, founded in luxury, takes many commodities imported from France. For although œconomy reigns among the Dutch, the conſumption in their tables and their dreſs is infinitely increaſed. Nevertheleſs this importation from France furniſhes a rich re-exportation. It was eſtimated, before the laſt war, that the returns from America to France, in ſugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton, amounted from one hundred and forty to one hundred and forty-five millions per annum, or 6,343,000l. ſterling. Near half thoſe commodities, excepting the cotton uſed in the manufactures of France, is ſent from France to Amſterdam or Rotterdam, either on account of the Dutch, or to be ſold on account of the French: all this rich part of the commerce of France is entirely employed in re-

re-exportation; for Holland draws from her own Colonies as much as is neceſſary for her own conſumption in all theſe articles.

This immenſe importation from France is made entirely by Dutch ſhips; thus in having to the advantages of commerce the uncertainty which accompanies the reſult of buying and ſelling, we ought to calculate a very great ſum, by which the riches of the Republic are increaſed with a phyſical certainty; the freight, importation and exportation, the cuſtoms, the loading and unloading in the ports of Holland, the duties of ſtowage, &c. and the commiſſion. If we conſider in detail, the importations and exportations of Holland, her navigation in Europe, and the advantages of aſſortments of goods in her general magazine, there is no branch of commerce more precious to her than that with France, and which ſhe ought to preſerve with the greateſt care: ſhe has loſt ſome advantages of her herring fiſhery, but that of France is too weak to rival hers amongſt foreigners; but it is increaſed to do her infinite prejudice in the interior conſumption of that kingdom. The French have not made weak efforts for getting into their own hands their trade to the North; but the merchants of that nation, princi-

pally

partly occupied by the commerce of America, require too great encouragements for carrying on their own commerce of the North; because the benefit is much inferior to that of the American commerce. There is besides another reason, which ought for a long time to preserve the Dutch in poſſeſſion of theſe branches, drawn from the nature itſelf of the commerce of France, and the ſituation of moſt of the French merchants. The commerce of the North demands very conſiderable ſums to be advanced for a long time, and conſequently a great capital, long employed for a very moderate profit; while the intereſt paid for money, employed in the commerce of France, is always reckoned at ſix per cent. Few of the French merchants have funds ſufficient for waiting the return for ſo little profit: they are uſed to trade on ſmall capitals, and to make their greater operations rather on their credit than their capital; but in the commerce of the North nothing can be done by credit, eſpecially in Ruſſia, where they muſt give a year's credit in ſelling, and in buying pay a year beforehand, in order to trade to the beſt advantage. There are but few merchants in France in a ſtate of ſuſtaining ſo long a credit, to do Holland any miſchief by competition.

The

The merchants of France carry on the American commerce with very moderate funds; they ſend off cargoes almoſt entirely on credit, and they get eaſily and quickly new funds when they have received advice of the returns being expedited, upon which they may make their aſſurance. It is the ſame very often with the funds of the Dutch, to whom they ſend their returns on commiſſion, who remit them two thirds, or three fourths of the value, with which they ſupport the credit of the firſt cargoes, and gain freſh credit for new ones. It is only the American commerce which gives in France that happy facility to the merchants which their capitals ſo much require. Thus it is, the French merchants themſelves, who contribute the moſt to maintain the Dutch, in poſſeſſion of their carrying trade, and the commerce of the North, which they will preſerve in the ſame manner a long time, eſpecially while the commerce of France with America continues flouriſhing.

SPAIN.

THE trade with Spain is divided into two parts extremely important, that of the productions natural to Spain, which are carried

ried on in the different ports of the kingdom; and that of the American productions, dependant on Spain, which is all at Cadiz. Spain is not ſo abundant as ſhe ought to be in her home produce, nor ſo much in Europe as in America; but ſhe is enough ſo for doubly enriching the induſtrious nations, by furniſhing their induſtry with a great number of new materials, of which ſome are peculiar, ſuch as her wool, cochineal, &c. and alſo by finding a great conſumption for the products of their induſtry. The trade of Holland has ſuffered ſome diminution in theſe two branches of commerce with Spain, but this diminution is much more ſenſible in the laſt.

The competition in the firſt part of the Spaniſh commerce is, on the part of France, England, and the Hanſe Towns, infinitely increaſed. The Dutch have, beſides, loſt the advantage of carrying on this commerce with their own manufactures; they have been obliged to employ thoſe of other nations, and to make an œconomical commerce of raw materials, inſtead of working them up, as they did heretofore; this branch is nevertheleſs very rich ſtill.

The clandeſtine commerce between the Colonies in America is at preſent almoſt entirely

entirely in the hands of the Engliſh, by means of their eſtabliſhments in the iſles of Jamaica and Providence, and by their intercourſe with the Spaniſh Colonies is become extremely eaſy, and alſo by the eſtabliſhments which have been granted them by the laſt treaty of peace, in Florida, Campeachy, and Honduras; inſomuch that that nation makes at preſent, by Spaniſh America, half as much as the commerce which all Europe heretofore carried on by way of Cadiz. It is very difficult to re-eſtabliſh this rich and important commerce, in which the Dutch had ſo large a part in its antient ſtate; the merchants of Holland can only make uſeleſs complaints, like thoſe of all other induſtrious nations of Europe, equally intereſted in the declenſion of the American commerce at Cadiz.

But if it is difficult to ſtop the abuſes of clandeſtine commerce with New Spain, ſo prejudicial to the legitimate commerce of all the nations of Europe, it is, perhaps, more difficult ſtill, to prevent an entire conqueſt of that part of America, which has great reaſon to fear the forces of the Engliſh Colonies of North America, united with the Mother Country. The taking of Louiſbrugh, by provincial troops, in 1746, was the

the firſt eſſay of the natural forces of New-England; and the Engliſh Colonies of North America have, without ceaſing, ſince that time, extended their population, their induſtry, their commerce, and their marine. The cities of Boſton and Philadelphia have, alone, more than two thouſand ſhips at ſea; and they are at the ſame time infinitely fortified by a great number of regular troops, which England maintains among them: we may eaſily foreſee, that theſe Colonies will, one day, form enterprizes more extended, and more rich, with equal ſucceſs. The conqueſts of Mexico and Peru would not preſent, perhaps at this time, more difficulties than conquering Louiſburgh; but would be of much greater importance, both to the Engliſh and to Europe; and we ſhould fear that the actual ſituation of their commerce, and their maritime force, would enable them to perpetuate this ruinous ſuperiority, without the project being founded in the ſyſtem of their government. The Engliſh Colonies in North America have at preſent more ſhipping than England itſelf had at the beginning of the laſt century. All their natural productions, if we except the materials proper for the conſtruction of ſhips, are the ſame as thoſe of England; and

theſe Colonies being given to manufactures, and with liberty of navigation on the European ſeas, are come to be in commerce a rival nation to the European Engliſh. The trade of peltry, and the materials for ſhip building, with the conſumption of manufactures, do not indemnify England for the prejudice which ariſes from a competition already very miſchievous, and which cannot fail of increaſing; for, on one hand, the manufactures which are carried into the Colonies; and on the other, the degree in which they extend their population and their agriculture: they ſend into Europe a great quantity of rice and corn, &c. which come in competition with the Engliſh corn in all the markets of England.

Both European and American Engliſh, have equally a great intereſt in putting a ſtop to the effects of that competition, or to indemnify themſelves by other branches of commerce. The Enropean Engliſh have, above all, a particular intereſt in opening new markets for their manufactures, of which the conſumption has ceaſed to increaſe in Europe. The ſale to the Weſt Indies, by the clandeſtine commerce, although very conſiderable, is not ſufficient to make amends for the diminution of the conſumption

ſumption of Europe, which is owing to the exceſſive dearneſs of labour, and the neceſſity of ſupporting the weight of the public debt, will not allow a change.

Motives, ſo intereſting to a commercial and warlike nation, with forces ſo conſiderable, both in Europe and America, ought to make Spain fearful of loſing one day or other the riches of the Weſt Indies; and other nations of being deprived of the part which they take of thoſe riches by a legal induſtry. A nation that ſuſtains and authoriſes for ſo great a number of years, a clandeſtine commerce, at the expence of all the induſtrious part of Europe, will allow us to believe, that ſhe would equally legitimate in her eyes a violent uſurpation, which ſhe might honour with the title of conqueſt. We may regard the commerce of Europe as menaced with this revolution, if Spain does not fortify her Colonies with care, if ſhe does not render acceſs to them infinitely difficult, and if ſhe does not meet with a powerful aſſiſtance on the part of other nations, in caſe of an attack. It is thus, that the commerce of the Dutch by Cadiz to the Weſt Indies, is extremely declined, from the clandeſtine trade of the Engliſh in America; and will perhaps be one day entirely ruined.

PORTUGAL.

THE firſt and principal branch of this commerce has been ſince 1703 in the hands of the Engliſh: it conſiſts of the importation of woollen manufactures, which no nation but England has ſent in any quantities to Portugal: this has rendered the Engliſh almoſt entirely maſters of the trade of Brazil, which was given them, in the treaty made by Mr. Methuen with the crown of Portugal in 1703; it has conſtantly brought in a balance every year in favour of England of five hundred thouſand pounds: a balance ſo great drawn from Portugal by one ſingle nation, has left to others but a very moderate commerce with that kingdom. The exportation of corn to Portugal was a very important object to the Dutch, but the Colonies of New-England have, for ſome years laſt paſt, carried great quantities thither of as good a quality as that of Europe, and at a much lower price.

ITALY.

THE Dutch have a very great trade to Italy: it is a capital market for their merchandize

chandize of the Indies, of America, and of their fiſheries; and for almoſt all the merchandize which they import from Germany and the North. This trade is principally carried on by the ports of Genoa, Leghorn, Venice, Naples, and Meſſina: theſe five places are the magazines of all the merchandize which the reſt of Italy furniſhes to foreign countries, and of that which they receive in return.

This country has been the original of all the ſilk manufactures in Europe; but the French have rivalled the Italians with great ſucceſs. The manufacturers of Lyons, who ſend to Italy every year an immenſe quantity of their ſtuffs, eſpecially rich ones, ſhew plainly the declenſion of the manufactures of Italy. Ordinary ſilks are made at London; alſo at Berlin, Vienna, in Denmark, in Holland, in France, and at Lyons. Almoſt every where there are ſilk manufactures, where the mechanical part of the common buſineſs is as perfect as at Lyons. At London the blue is finer than any where elſe; and the black is very ſuperior; the workmen there are alſo better paid, better furniſhed with every thing, better watched, and are more equal in their chain, and finiſh better every thing they make. Without entering into

infinite detail, when we compare the ſubſtance of ſtuffs and the beauty of colour, or black ſatins in general, with thoſe of England, we cannot heſitate in the choice, if there is not a great difference in the price. Many of the ſilks of England are inconteſtibly finer than thoſe of any other manufacture, but others are preferred, becauſe they are cheaper.—The articles of genius, taſte, and art, are diſplayed at Lyons, in all their riches; and the merchants of that city know how to make the moſt of the fruits of their induſtry, exhibiting their fabrics particularly in all Courts; for Lyons is the manufacture of all the Courts of Europe.

The LEVANT.

THIS commerce has been a long time the firſt and richeſt branch of the trade of Europe: it is to this branch of commerce that we owe the mulberry trees, ſilk and manufactures of ſilk, and the birth of almoſt all the uſeful and agreeable arts that we enjoy.

The benefits received from the Levant trade, like that of Ruſſia and the Eaſt Indies, conſiſt in the returns, particularly for thoſe nations who are able to export cloths; for this

this is the only article of exportation made by the merchants to the Levant, that is truly rich and beneficial to themſelves, and to thoſe nations that fabricate them. The Levant was accuſtomed only to the Venetian cloths, when the Engliſh, French, and Dutch entered into a competition with the Venetians; and as faſhion took very little with the Levantines, theſe three nations gave their firſt attention to imitate the Venetian manufacture: theſe cloths were imitated very promptly in England, France, and Holland; and this imitation was, after the diſcovery of the new route to the Eaſt Indies, the moſt fatal ſtroke to the commerce of Venice. This branch, the moſt precious of the Levant commerce, is almoſt entirely loſt by the Dutch; a decline which they have met with in common with England. It is uniformly the effect of the high price of labour, which has for a great number of years raiſed the prices of the manufactures of both England and Holland.

England, always employed in the care of extending and preſerving her commerce, has taken all poſſible precautions for preſerving the ſale of cloths in the Levant; except thoſe which could alone revive this branch of commerce, which was to carry them as

od cheaper to market than thoſe of France. The French have added to a greater cheapneſs of their cloths, a more proper conduct for inſuring and perpetuating the ſale, by ſubmitting the commerce to regulations extremely wiſe, concerning the ſale of the goods in the Levant, and their manufacture in Languedoc.

They diſtinguiſh in the ſale of cloths, in the Levant, the free ports, from thoſe which are not; that is to ſay, they diſtinguiſh the market, where the cloth is ſold in retale to be conſumed in the place, from thoſe where the bales of drapery are diſpoſed of by wholſale, in truck for merchandize, or for being exported: in the firſt, as at Cairo and Conſtantinople, where this conſumption is limited, the retailers, from the example of thoſe of Europe, aſk an equal price to ſerve them, as a rule; from whence came the French regulations, which have preſcribed fixed prices, and they alſo judge, that this rule may in other ports be ill placed, and burthenſome to the trade; they judge, by the local circumſtances of the commerce, that it is neceſſary to unite the French merchants, for ſelling, to the men, who are themſelves united and leagued for buying. Without the aſſiſtance of regulations, there would often

often be, between the merchants of neighbouring ports, a competition, which would, like a civil war, be miſchievous to all.

It is to theſe regulations, (which the commerce particularly demanded), and to the cheapneſs of the cloths, that the French owe the proſperity of their commerce to the Levant, and the ſuperiority which they have acquired over all other nations. They have, beſides the advantage of aſſorting in their exports three articles, which are become of infinite conſequence in this commerce, viz. ſugar, the coffee of Martinico, and indigo. Marſeilles, which is the only magazine in France for the Levant commerce, draws theſe three articles from the firſt hand, and the conſumption of ſugar, and coffee of Martinico, is prodigiouſly extended in the Levant. Independantly of their dried fruits, the Levantines are come to uſe much ſugar in their coffee, and to mix the coffee of Martinico with that which they draw at preſent from Arabia by the caravans; inſomuch that there is ſcarcely finding any coffee of Mocha in the markets of the Levant, that is not mixed with that of Martinico.

It has been proved, by a ſtate taken from the regiſters in the Chancery of France, and by thoſe of the cuſtoms ſent to the French Miniſters

Miniſters in 1750, that from the epocha of the French regulations, the total of their ſales is augmented conſiderably; that thoſe of the Engliſh, which were but one year before the regulations 2200 bales, was found to be reduced to 400 bales, and ſometimes leſs; that ſince this epocha, the Engliſh have not ſold in twenty-five years more than 8700 bales, of ten, twelve, or fifteen half pieces; while the French, in the ſame period, ſold 43,352 bales, of ten or twelve half pieces.

Notwithſtanding two acts of parliament for ſtopping this decreaſe in England, ſtill it has continued; and the Engliſh have no means of regaining a ſuperiority, or even raiſing a competition, but by a low price of labour in their manufactures, which is very difficult to procure. The Dutch are under the ſame diſadvantage as the Engliſh in this commerce, in reſpect of their cloth manufactures, ſince they are nine or ten per cent. dearer than thoſe of France; and it would be equally difficult for them to lower the prices by a cheaper rate of labour. But the Dutch have not the ſame reaſons of politics or jealouſy, as the Engliſh, which will not permit them to carry on their commerce with the manufactured ſtuffs of foreigners.

The

The trade of Holland appropriates to itſelf the manufactures of every nation known, and generally employs, with an entire liberty, the productions of induſtry of all countries.

Freight and Commiſſion, &c.

OF the commerce of freight, thoſe of banking, commiſſion, and inſurance, are branches of the Republic's trade the moſt ſolidly rich; but particularly thoſe of freight and commiſſion, which two are always ſure and privileged, and accompanied with no riſks; but theſe branches have, at the ſame time, their ſource uniformly in the aggregate of all the other branches of commerce in the State; inſomuch that their decreaſe, their increaſe and preſervation, depends entirely on, and varies according as the general trade in the ſtate more or leſs flouriſhes. We muſt therefore regard all the other branches of the Dutch commerce as ſo many canals, which carry into the heart of the Republic, the aliment of freight and commiſſion, banking and inſurance; which enriches at the ſame time a thouſand brokers, and furniſhes a thouſand means of ſubſiſtence to a numerous people. Theſe are the true and moſt ſolid riches,

riches, which reſult from a great œconomical commerce, ſuch as that of Holland.

Navigation is, without contradiction, the principle of a great power and what ought to be more intereſting to humanity, it is the ſource of a great commerce; the nation who poſſeſſes it multiplies on courſe its ſhips, in proportion to it; and practice always brings this advantage, that their ſailors become more hardy, and navigate more ſecurely, than thoſe of other nations; for which reaſon ſuch a nation employs fewer men, and can make the tranſport of commodities at a cheaper rate than others.

A commercial nation draws to it all the materials neceſſary for conſtructing ſhips, ſeamen, and all ſorts of workmen acceſſary for, or that concern the marine. It is thus that Holland has infinitely augmented her population at the expence of other nations; it is thus that a navigating nation may deſtroy the ſhipping of other nations, or prevent their raiſing any; it is in this reſpect the ſame as with other nations in manufactures. They are the ſame conſequences flowing from the ſame principles in two different objects: but navigation has a much ſtronger influence than the other, in raiſing a political power; for manufactures can only draw

riches

riches to a ſtate; but navigation, beſides the riches it procures, gives a real force to the ſtate; it is, at the ſame time, very difficult for nations, who excel, or who predominate in the arts of manufacturing, to prevent other nations from eſtabliſhing the like among themſelves by the ſame induſtry. But it is very eaſy for a nation, who reigns upon the ſea, to prevent any other nation from becoming ſo powerful on it as to rival them thereon.

The principal end, which ought to be the aim of all nations who navigate, is to conſtruct perfect ſhips, and to raiſe good ſailors, and alſo to build them cheaper than other nations. Holland enjoyed for a long time theſe two advantages; the firſt, as far as the ſituation of its ports would admit; and the ſecond, from the low price of labour, and by procuring with great œconomy the materials at the firſt hand.

The commerce of freight is principally maintained by that general œconomical trade, which makes Holland the general magazine of merchandize from all parts of the world. We are not nevertheleſs to believe, that the Dutch navigation is carried on totally for their own account; or that their commerce uniformly conſiſts in going to buy the merchandize

chandize of Southern nations, to form aſſortments for the North; or from the North, to form thoſe for the South; but it is by this commerce that the Dutch have formed a general magazine; and this being once gained, Holland was immediately regarded as the firſt market in Europe; and it gave birth to another branch, infinitely precious, and which equally produced the means of ſubſiſting the people, and much extended the commerce of freight. This market, being regarded by the merchants of all other nations, as that where they could, with moſt eaſe and moſt convenience, ſell or buy all ſorts of merchandize, has given to the Dutch a commerce of commiſſion very extenſive; inſomuch that a great part of the merchandize, which is brought at preſent to Holland by Dutch ſhips, is for the account of foreigners, and exported for the ſame: and a great part of the commerce of Holland conſiſts in buying and ſelling for the account of others.

Of the Progreſs and Decreaſe of Commerce.

THE different branches of commerce, which conſiſt in the employment of ſhips, and making ſales and purchaſes on the account of all the merchants of Europe, and making

making the circulation of a great credit, and an immenſe ſum of paper, always accompanied by the benefits of brokerage, &c. and the inſurances have, as we have obſerved, for their foundation, all the other branches of the commerce of the Republic. Thus as the univerſality of commerce in the ſtate, is more or leſs flouriſhing, ſo alſo are the particular branches which depend upon it. We may nevertheleſs obſerve, that theſe branches of the commerce of Holland, have not their proſperity founded in the benefits ariſing from other branches, but uniformly from the volume of merchandize which fills the general national magazine. It is not of much conſequence to theſe branches, that the merchants buy and ſell with little or much profit, but it infinitely imports them, that the merchants keep in the magazines of Holland, always in the ſame degree of abundance, the aſſortments of all the merchandize of the four parts of the world; and that the œconomical commerce always ſuſtains the reputation which it has given to Holland, of being the firſt market in Europe. But if the decreaſe of the other branches of commerce diminiſh, the amount of the magazines in this article, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that the commerce of freight, of commiſſion,

miſſion, of banking and inſurance, muſt diminiſh in proportion.

Since the act of navigation in England, we may obſerve a decreaſe in the commerce of Holland; but a decreaſe, perhaps, too trifling to attract the immediate attention of the government. This decreaſe has had two cauſes, independantly of the act of navigation; one of which might have been eaſily foreſeen, or perhaps prevented; and the effects of the other have been conſiderably weakened. The wars, which have happened ſince that time, and the progreſs of the general knowledge of commerce, which has without ceaſing extended itſelf through all other nations, and muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the trade of the Dutch.

The wars terminated by the treaties of Nimeguen, Ryſwick, and Utrecht; and laſtly, by the laſt treaty of Aix la Chapelle, have ſucceſſively obliged the Republic to make uſe of a vaſt credit, in borrowing enormouſly to ſuſtain the expence: theſe debts have burthened the ſtate with an immenſe ſum in intereſt, which could not be paid but by augmenting exceſſively the imports, which have fallen, for much the greateſt part of them, on the conſumption of a country whoſe limits are extremely bounded, and conſequently

conſequently upon induſtry. This has rendered labour infinitely dear; this dearneſs of labour has not only reſtrained almoſt all the manufactures and induſtry, for interior conſumption, but it has alſo given a ſenſible ſtroke to the commerce of freight, an acceſſary part, and the moſt precious of the commerce of œconomy: it has rendered ſhip-building dearer, augmented the prices of all the work on which navigation depends, and likewiſe all that of the ports and magazines. It could not be poſſible then to augment the price of labour without giving, in ſpite of every effort of the œconomical Dutch, a ſenſible advantage to other nations, who would raiſe a trade in freight, and of buying and ſelling.

The ſecond cauſe of the decreaſe of the commerce of Holland has made as rapid a progreſs, and continues to make it in our days. Its Company of the Indies has loſt infinite advantages by the eſtabliſhment of thoſe of England, France, Denmark, and Sweden; but it is in particular the competition of that of England which has done her the moſt hurt. All other nations now aim at carrying on a commerce thither directly; and the nations, heretofore the leaſt commercial in Europe, have almoſt arrived at this

point. The ports of the Baltic, and the cities of Germany, carry on, as far as it is poſſible, their trade directly with the South of Europe; and increaſe every day a competition with the Dutch, in their buying and ſelling trade. Each nation endeavours to have as much commerce as it can, and none but what gain ſome increaſe at the expence of that of Holland.

Nevertheleſs this general induſtry might well be allowed to reſtrain the trade of Holland; but ſome wanted to extend it to her entire deſtruction. Her returns from the Eaſt Indies and America, joined with her fiſhery, place her in a condition of forming aſſortments, which would always give her a deciſive ſuperiority over the Hanſe Towns, who never can procure themſelves equal advantages; and this ſuperiority would be greater yet, if the Republic gave a new attention to her Colonies in America. If their improvement was well conducted, their productions might be extended to replace, in the total of their commerce, a part of the diminution it has undergone. It is one of the moſt precious branches of the Dutch trade, and merits more than the precarious attention it has met with.

If

If we obſerve with attention the actual progreſs of induſtry among all the nations of Europe, we ſhall ſee it happen, and perhaps ſpeedily, that all nations will have a natural commerce, and a degree of power, proportioned to the riches of that commerce, nearly relative to the extent and nature of the territory which each nation poſſeſſes, whether in Europe or America. The territorial riches are the true riches of the ſtate; and the government, which applies the national induſtry to give them all the value they are capable of, is that which will give the ſtate a power the moſt ſolidly fixed. It is this principally which ought to render the Dutch more precious of their American Colonies. It is only in America that Holland can gain the advantages of a territorial power.

Commerce does not at preſent afford to any nation in Europe the legitimate means of acquiring great riches from any thing but its territory, or from new diſcoveries. Theſe are, without doubt, difficult, but they are not invincible to modern induſtry. It is certain, that there ſtill remain to be made in the interior parts of Africa, in America, and in the Terra Auſtralis, diſcoveries, which, though they have been often fruitleſsly attempted, might yet be made with the greateſt ſucceſs.

The Whale Fiſhery.

VARIOUS have been the placarts publiſhed by the States for the regulation of this fiſhery, which was once entirely in the hands of a Company, but it was at laſt thrown into the moſt advantageous ſyſtem that could be deviſed, and great ſucceſs has been the conſequence. The Dutch ſend every year two hundred and fifty ſhips from Amſterdam, Rotterdam, Sardam, and Horn, and the conſequence of it tempts a great many more. Beſides the hazards of the ſea, which are great, there are others which render the fiſhery often very unfruitful to a great number of ſhips. There are ſome that catch five whales, and others, who are forced to return with only one; a return which does not pay expences.

The ſhips deſtined for this fiſhery are from two to three hundred tons, and the crews proportioned to the number of chaloups which each veſſel takes to ſearch for the whales and harpoon them; each ſhip has four, five, ſix, or ſeven chaloups, and to each chaloup ſix or ſeven men: beſides the ſhips which go only for the fiſhery, there are every year twenty-five or thirty ſmall ſhips, from

from 50 to 70 tons, who go at the ſame time for trading upon the coaſts with the ſavages, exchanging axes, hatchets, pots, &c. for ſkins and furs. But the benefits ariſing from the whale fiſhery are much diminiſhed by the competition of the Hamburghers, Danes, and Swedes. In 1765 only 190 ſhips were ſent, inſtead of 250 formerly. Art has given for ſome years a ſmall encouragement to it, by employing the ſpermaceti, inſtead of wax, for candles. This part of the whale, which finds but a very moderate conſumption in pharmacy, is at preſent dearer.

The Herring Fiſhery.

THIS fiſhery has been the cradle of the Dutch marine, and the firſt ſource of the riches of her commerce. The herring fiſhery has been a long time the moſt conſiderable branch of the commerce of Holland: it was therefore called the Golden Mine of the Republic, and the Great Fiſhery, to diſtinguiſh it from that of the whale, which was not comparable to it. M. de Wit, in writing on this fiſhery, aſſerts, that there ſubſiſted upon it four hundred and fifty thouſand perſons. It has been repeated, after M. de Wit, in all the writings that

have appeared on the commerce of Holland, that the fiſhery brought in every year ſixty-ſix millions of florins. Thoſe who have conſidered the actual ſtate of this fiſhery, look upon this valuation as a very great exaggeration; and it is one in effect, if we were to believe, that it amounted to 60 or 70 millions, divided among all thoſe intereſted in the fiſhery, whether merchants, &c. or common fiſhermen. But it is not the ſame, if we would eſtimate the means of ſubſiſtance which the fiſhery ſpreads through the Republic, and the utility which this material gives to the different branches of its commerce: this is the true light in which it ſhould be viewed for valuing it properly, and cultivating the real amount of it to the ſtate. In this method we ſhall find, that the eſtimation of ſo many millions is not perhaps too exceſſive at preſent, although the fiſhery is infinitely decreaſed.

There are at preſent 2000 buſſes of all nations employed in this fiſhery; thoſe of Holland are more numerous than any other, but they do not exceed 1000 annually. It is a branch of commerce that has loſt many of its advantages by the competition of France and England."*

General

* Le Commerce de la Hollande, Tom. 1 & 2.

General Obſervations.

IN England, we have been amuſed with ſo many accounts of the Dutch commerce, in dictionaries, treatiſes, and political pamphlets, three fourths of which are copied from one another, until the firſt intelligence is in ſeveral inſtances one hundred and fifty years old, that any perſon uſed to commercial reading can hardly fail of being diſguſted at it: this great fault in our authors is carried to ſuch a pitch, that we have new books every day publiſhed, concerning Holland, which take the accounts from Raleigh and de Wit, and other writers as antient, for their guides in the preſent ſtate of its trade, &c. The truth is, the Dutch commerce is much changed ſince the beſt writers flouriſhed, who are known in England; and it is the buſineſs of a perſon, who travels through a country with any attention, to rectify the errors of theſe eternal copiers, by giving, as well as he is able, the preſent ſtate of every thing. Five hundred books will tell the ſtate of Holland in the year 1600, but I want to inform the reader how matters are in 1768. Whatever comes within the ſphere of direct obſervation I ſo explain; and

what I cannot thus become acquainted with, I lay before the reader in tranſlated extracts from new works, publiſhed abroad, and almoſt unknown in England; of which, during my reſidence in Holland, I have heard good characters for authenticity, from perſons very underſtanding in the commerce and politics of their country.

But, before I quit the ſubject of the trade of Holland, I have in general to remark, that there are in England two ideas common concerning it, both which are very erroneous. Some imagine, that the commerce of the Republic is ſunk to ſuch a degree, that her decline is ſwift, and foretells at no long period the diſſolution, or at leaſt the ſubjection of the ſtate to a neighbouring power; others on the contrary, who have heated their imaginations with the idea of the amazing commerce, and maritime power they once poſſeſſed, will not readily allow the real declenſion, which has undoubtedly come upon them; but conſider the Republic at preſent, in wealth and power, upon principles that would have been juſt through the firſt half of the laſt century: few perſons make due allowances for changes, nor will they readily prefer a mean courſe, when extremes are ſo much more dazzling and brilliant. The truth

truth is, that the Dutch yet poſſeſs a very conſiderable commerce: it was formerly much ſuperior to that of England, in ſhipping, tonnage, value, and profit, but at preſent much inferior in every one of thoſe articles, and of this there can be no doubt: it is alſo a fact, that for the laſt twenty years the trade of England has much increaſed, whereas that of Holland has been on the decline, if we may believe the moſt candid men among them: and, at the ſame time, that England has increaſed her commerce, the other powers of Europe have done the ſame: the French trade indeed has not, except in a few particular branches, gained any thing; but the Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Danes, Swedes, and Ruſſians, have all advanced; and, as the author quoted above juſtly obſerves, at the expence of the Dutch. This general emulation in trade continues in its full force, and even encreaſes every day, to the diminution of the Dutch carrying trade; and I ſhould obſerve, that the declenſion of their commerce and manufactures has not been owing to the high rates of labour, (a point in which he is certainly miſtaken) ſo much as to this general ſpirit in every country of ſupplying itſelf; were this entirely general, the Dutch common-wealth would

would ſink into inanity; there is no occaſion to have recourſe to the riſe of prices, while a cauſe ſo much more obvious and ſimple equally explains it. If it is ſaid, that the Dutch labour is dearer than formerly, I reply, that this proves nothing, unleſs you, at the ſame time, prove that all the labour in Europe is not dearer than it was formerly. This, from the encreaſe of money is general; but when kingdoms and ſtates are bent upon becoming trading nations, they do not enquire into the prices of labour in Holland, but take every meaſure for ſupplying themſelves with thoſe manufactures and products which they formerly took of foreigners.

But notwithſtanding theſe general cauſes, which have and do operate towards the decline of the Dutch commerce, yet that nation is in the excluſive poſſeſſion of ſome branches, which will continue them in a great trade, whatever oppoſition they may meet with. Firſt, the ſpice trade, which is totally theirs, without any competition, and in value amounts to between one and two millions ſterling per annum; this is the only inſtance of a monopoly we meet with in the world; and I ſhould not omit to remark, that it ſhews the general amount of trade to be much leſs than is commonly ſuppoſed; for

had

had no ſuch monopoly ever exiſted, and a ſuppoſition of one was ſtated, it would be imagined more than to anſwer the purpoſes of all other trades. Spice is generally uſed all over the world; and yet the profit of an abſolute and complete monopoly does not amount, we find, to two millions a year. Some writers, of no ſlight credit, value it at no more than one million. If we could get poſſeſſion excluſively of the ſugar trade of the whole world, what a card would it be thought! much more than to make amends for the loſs of others; but the fact is, that monopolies have, in their very vitals, the principles of decay: prices muſt and ever will be ſo raiſed that the conſumption will generally decline, and the vaſt expences of preſerving it will altogether reduce the profit to a much ſmaller ſum than any one could previouſly have imagined.

However, the profit of above a million to ſo ſmall a ſtate as Holland, with the advantages of extending a monopoly in other branches of trade, is an object of very great importance, and cannot fail of tending very powerfully to ſupport the Dutch Republic, as long as ſhe is able to protect her trade. The herring fiſhery is another moſt important article, of which the Dutch have ſo

great

great a ſhare, as not only brings in immenſe ſums to the Republic, but alſo breeds them an infinite number of excellent ſailors; and the ſame obſervation is applicable to the whale fiſhery.

Relative to the maritime power of Holland, in which capacity ſhe uſed to be named in common with Great Britain, it is by ſome taken for granted, that the poſſeſſion of very numerous mariners is the ſame thing as a great naval force; but this is an error; the Dutch marine is not contemptible, but, at the ſame time, it is infinitely inferior to that of England, and their naval military ſtores are by no means filled in the manner they were in the laſt century, when they diſputed the empire of the ſea with England; indeed they are ſo far declined, that give them whatever notice they may require, yet they would never have it in their power to revive their navy ſo much as to be able to face the Britiſh power at ſea; with a view to this compariſon they are abſolutely ſunk; but with a general view of the maritime force of Europe they are ſtill ſomewhat reſpectable. Naval power depends principally on the number of good ſeamen; but it alſo depends on numerous well built ſhips, well provided, on ample ſtores and magazines, on numerous

dock

dock yards, founderies, &c. and many ſhip-carpenters kept in conſtant employ; all theſe are as requiſite as numerous ſeamen in the formation of a great maritime ſtrength; and the whole will occaſion ſo great an expence, that very conſiderable treaſures muſt be at command, or a nation will never ſee a powerful navy, whatever number of ſailors ſhe may have.

The affairs however of the neighbours of Holland have, for many years, run in ſuch a channel, that ſhe has pretty well eſcaped from thoſe intereſting ſituations which threatened her neutrality: while ſhe is able, by her negotiations, to keep neuter, the declenſion of her naval power will not have very bad conſequences; but in caſe ſhe is forced to take part in a war, then indeed her neglect of the ſea might prove very fatal. The conſequences, in ſuch a caſe, would depend on the ſeveral circumſtances and combinations ariſing from the part ſhe took in the quarrel: if ſhe joined France againſt England, a conduct which I do not apprehend ſhe would ever fall into, unleſs forced to it by the French armies, her ſecurity againſt the naval power of England would depend on the potency of the united fleets of France and Holland; which union would be

be ſo truly unnatural, that its effects would not probably be laſting: if ſhe joined England againſt France, her trade to the Colonies would be ſafe, and her coaſts would be protected, however low her marine might be.

But if, as is moſt probable, ſhe ſhould be able to preſerve her neutrality, then her navy will ſcarcely ever have any chance of being reſtored to real power; but, on the contrary, will probably decline, until it is reduced to but a ſhadow of her former marine.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Journey through North Holland—The Country—Agriculture—People—Voyage by the Iſlands to Harlingen—Account of Frizeland—Leeuwarden—Dockum, &c.—Agriculture.

I LEFT Amſterdam the 25th of May, taking the boat to Sardam, which lies on the other ſide of the water: it is the principal town for ſhip-building in all the provinces, being noted, when the Dutch navy was in the height of its proſperity, for the common, though exaggerated aſſertion, that if you gave them ſix months notice, they would be ready to launch a man of war every day for a year. Here are at preſent great magazines of timber, maſts, yards, cordage, ſails, anchors, cannon, and every thing neceſſary for building, rigging and fitting out all ſorts of ſhips; I counted ſixteen large merchantmen on the ſtocks, but there are docks for building many more at a time: but here is no great appearance of the military marine, for a man

for a man of war careening compoſed the whole ſight. But it is not only for ſhip-building that this place is noted, here are many other manufactures, particularly of paper, there being many paper-mills; and they aſſured me, it was the moſt conſiderable paper mannfactory in all Holland? it employs more than 600 men, beſides women and children: the men earn, on an average, about four florins and five ſtivers a week, or near ſeven ſhillings, but ſome of them much more: theſe wages ſeem to be about equal to the ſame manufacturers in England, but their living is much dearer; this is compenſated by the ſuperior frugality and ſobriety of the Dutchmen, which far exceed that of our poor in England.

The number of wind-mills at this place is ſurprizing: thoſe for ſawing timber for ſhip-building, &c. are admirable contrivances, as they facilitate and cheapen work to ſuch a degree, that it is much to be regretted we do not imitate them in England. The Dutch have had them at Sardam more than 130 years, in all which time they have found the immenſe advantages of the practice, and yet we in England have obſtinately perſevered in keeping to the hand-ſaw, at leaſt forty times the expence. The only argument

ment I have ever heard advanced in its favour was, the providing employment for great numbers of ſawyers, all of whom would at once be turned out of work, if mills were genearally introduced: but this is but a ſeeming objection; for it is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that ſuch able-bodied men as ſawyers, could remain without work; they would turn hewers and carpenters; and the cheapneſs of the manufacture, occaſioned by the mills, would bring ſo much greater a conſumption, that all the hands dependant on it would be increaſed. This was found at Holland, and particularly at Sardam; where the erecting of ſaw mills increaſed twenty fold the number of ſhip carpenters, and which appears by authentic regiſters.

Here are alſo many mills for grinding dying woods, and dying roots; alſo powder mills, of which there is a vaſt manufacture: theſe mills render Sardam a very conſiderable place; and their ſtructure is ſo curious, that a ſtranger will find no where in Holland more entertainment, or ſtronger motives for reflection on the vaſt induſtry of the Dutch; or on the great benefit of their frugality and contrivance in manufactures, than in this village.

From Sardam I returned by water to Buikſloot about noon, deſigning to make the complete tour of the ſmall province of North Holland, to which I had been much adviſed by ſeveral Dutch gentlemen, who aſſured me, that I ſhould find ſeveral objects in that track, highly worth ſeeing, though it was generally neglected by travellers. From this village I took the boat to Monikedam, through a country, part of it extremely pleaſing, and the meadows and paſtures near it, appeared to be very rich, and excellently managed; the dykes, gates, bridges, and rows of trees, with the regularity and neatneſs of the canal, are all highly finiſhed in the beſt manner. The neatneſs and pleaſing cleanlineſs of the town was ſuch, that I determined to ſtay the night, inſtead of going on to Eidam, which is the next ſtage on the canal. I walked through every part of the town, to admire the cleanlineſs of the people, which much exceed sany thing I had ſeen in South Holland: this retired corner of the world ſeems to have eſcaped the taint of foreign examples. My accommodation was not excellent, but paſſable, and rather cheap: I had an excellent diſh of fiſh, and a bottle of claret, for about four ſhilling Engliſh; but Monikedam ſtands on the ſea. I enquired

quired the price of ſome meadows near the town, and I found they would, if let, bring in very near four pounds an acre Engliſh.

I was in the treckſchuyt for Eidam by eight o'clock in the morning of the 26th, and arrived thither in a little more than an hour. I am quite reconciled to this mode of travelling in company; at firſt it was diſagreeable through a want of cuſtom, and it certainly would be conſtantly ſo in England; but among foreigners, it is much better. This place alſo ſtands on the ſea: there is nothing, except the neatneſs of the inhabitants, that is worth obſervation in the town; but in the environs, there is much that calls for attention. The neighbourhood is moſtly called Purmerend, that is the name of a lake, which was here formerly, but is now all drained to the circular extent of more than twenty miles circumferance: there are other inſtances of this kind of excellent huſbandry in North Holland. I ſpent the whole morning in taking a long walk of ſome miles to the rich meadows, which were once covered with water; I put many queſtions to the peaſants, and met with much uſeful information. Among other particulars, they informed me, that the ſoil, which indeed I found by viewing the dykes, was a rich

blacky loam; compoſed, to appearance, of ſand and clay, but more like a ſlime ſettled: the graſs is admirably rich, but full of weeds: and here let me remark, that none of the Dutch, I have yet met with, ſeem to have any notion of true, well laid meadows; the luxuriance of the herbage ſeems alone to be attended to; a great ſwarth of hay, as I have heard the mowers in England talk of, you will find here; that is, a multiplicity of weeds; ſome of them rank and large, which much offends the eye: yet theſe meadows let at from 40s. to 5l. an acre Engliſh. Their fertility ſhew what is to be expected from drained lakes; we have no inſtance of this in Britain; yet the meres in Huntingdon and Cambridgſhires, and the lakes in Scotland, would ſurely admit of this culture: the richneſs of the ſoil may be much better judged of by the ſize and fatneſs of the cattle, than by the herbage: larger cows and ſheep I never met with: they ſeem to be the breed, which in England they call the Holderneſs cow; and the ſheep much reſemble thoſe of the marſhes in Lincolnſhire, but I think are rather larger. I was informed, that theſe immenſe cows give about four or five gallons (Engliſh) of milk in a day, at the morning and evening milking; this however

however they reckon a good cow; and ſhe pays, in the famous North Holland cheeſe and butter, about eight pounds ſterling annually. The cheeſe is well known at the polite tables in England, as well as Parmeſan; but I muſt freely own, I think, our North Wiltſhire is beyond comparriſon ſuperior: beſides, the Dutch eat it too new.

Here I muſt remark, that the products of their cows much ſurprized me: I have cows of my own in England of no handſome appearance, which much exceed theſe famous ones in Holland, in the quantity of milk they yield, although their paſture is not to be compared to this of Holland: I know not what to attribute this to, unleſs to the badneſs of the herbage in this province: But notwithſtanding this inferiority, a Dutch boor, with 50 or 60 acres Engliſh, will manage to live as well, or better than an Engliſh farmer with 200 hundred acres: this is owing to frugality, and the ſpirit of neatneſs; in ſome inſtances the latter may ſeem to be expenſive, but the ſaving in others much more than makes amends; this neatneſs and cleanlineſs is not only ſhewn in the houſe and furniture, but in all the farming offices; ſo that all the cattle, though brought up only to milk, are

ranged regularly in a cow ſtall, as clean as a parlour; if I found this in May, I can eaſily conceive it muſt be the ſame all winter; and keeping the cattle in this manner tends wonderfully to preſerve their health; and at the ſame time, it raiſes manure, of which the Dutch farmers well know the value. All the tools and implements of huſbandry theſe boors keep in the moſt exact order; their ſcythes, ſpades, ſhovels, forks, appear like houſhold inſtruments; their waggons are conſtantly as clean as our chariots; and this ſpirit of cleanlineſs is carried through every thing: now it muſt be allowed, that the Duthman requires more time for his neatneſs than other country peaſants do for their ſlovenlineſs; but, it anſwers very greatly to them; for there is much difference in the wear of any kind of tool, kept quite clean and under cover, or dirty and expoſed to all weathers; from which great difference I conclude, that no time is better ſpent than that employed in a general neatneſs and cleanlineſs through all the parts of huſbandry. That ſuch neatneſs is quite rational in Holland, we may learn from its appearance equally in all objects. The farmers do not ſhew it only in their implements, and their cattle, but likewiſe in their fences, in the banks of

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their ditches, their dykes, their walls, pales, hedges, &c. whatever the fence is, you are ſure to find it in exact order; and in all public works it is equally conſpicuous; the canals, bridges, dykes, &c. are all in admirable repair.

From Eidam I went out of my way to Purmerend, in order to ſee in that neighbourhood a famous drained country, once a great lake, called the Beemſter. I went by the canal, being juſt two hours in the boat. The lake was drained in the year 1712, the whole work being completely finiſhed in four years. The track of land contains 10,000 acres, of which 7000 are profitable meadow, orchard, or garden; the remaining 3000 compoſe villages, roads, dykes, canals, drains, &c. It is upon the whole one of the greateſt curioſities in the United Provinces; the appearance is as beautiful as that of a dead flat can be; the ſoil is wonderfully fertile; the verdure fine; the fences perfectly neat; the rows of trees, the orchards, and the gardens numerous, and thriving; vaſt herds of exceeding fine cattle are ſeen in every part of it; upon the whole, the view of the country diſplays, in every particular, the mark of wealth in the inhabitants; and a richer ſpot is hardly to be ſeen. The rents

are very high, but the fertility of the ſoil merits it; for here are many meadows that will more than feed a large cow per acre, through all the ſummer, and ſupport her in great plenty. The view I took of this, ſurprized me in another particular; I thought the country appeared well ſtocked with horned cattle, conſidering there is very little arable land in it, for raiſing winter proviſions; but they informed me, that the diſtemper among their cattle, which had continued many years, had thinned them much; and made all the farmers very cautious in buying, and backward in laying in large ſtocks. They carry on a great trade in lean beaſts with Denmark and Holſtein; but the diſtemper having made great ravages through thoſe countries, the price was not only much raiſed, but great hazards remained of buying infected beaſts; beſides which, the States had laid great interruptions on the importation, on account of the diſtemper; for which reaſons they informed me, the country was far underſtocked in horned cattle; and that they had, inſtead of them, gone into keeping ſheep much more than formerly. I made enquiries concerning the comparative profit between them; and they generally agreed, that

that the murrain excepted, cows and beasts paid them much the best.

From Purmerend I took boat to Hoorn the 27th in the afternoon. It is a considerable ſeaport, with a much better harbour than Amſterdam, or any other place on the Zuyder Sea; and it poſſeſſes more trade than I expected to find ſo near that capital. Its herring fiſhery is very conſiderable. I made freſh enquiries here concerning it; and they agreed in their accounts, that it was vaſtly declined from the competition of other nations, but particularly the French. Moſt of the cheeſe, and other produce of North Holland, is exported from this place. Hoorn being once almoſt deſtroyed by a bank breaking, and letting in the ſea, that element is now fenced out with one of the vaſteſt banks I have any where ſeen in Holland; it is much worth viewing. My accommodation at this place was but indifferent, and the expences extravagant; but I have obſerved, that the Dutch landlords make hardly any difference in their reckoning between good fare and bad; travellers therefore ſhould order the beſt of every thing, as they will have them nearly as cheap as the worſt.

From Hoorn to Enkhuyſen, as I diſliked a boat by ſea, I enquired for another conveyance,

ayance, but there was nothing but a ſtage-waggon, ſo I ſent my baggage by it, and walked. The road leads through a flat, rich meadow, all the way much interſected with canals and dykes. I obſerved, the country villagers kept their cottages as clean as in any part of Holland, and indeed it extends to ſuch a degree of nicety, as to be perfectly entertaining to view them; this minute attention extends beyond their houſes; all its environs are the ſame: in any little offices, or huts, the garden, the fences, the pales, the gates, and every thing you are ſure to find in excellent order. The employment of the poor ſeemed to be principally net-making for the herring fiſhery; which, however it may be declined, yet employs a vaſt number of their poor. I made enquiry into the benefit it was of to the father of a family, by going in the buſſes; and I found, that in pay, allowance, and herrings, it equalled twelve ſhillings a week of our money.

I took up my quarters at The Artillery Yard at Enkhuyſen. It is a town almoſt in the ſea, being nearly ſurrounded by it; but from which it is defended, like Hoorn, by vaſt banks: canals bring ſmall veſſels into moſt of the ſtreets. It is a well built town,

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and very clean; many of the houſes large and handſome, and the Stadthouſe is a conſiderable edifice. Their trade is moſtly in the herring fiſhery; but they catch large quantities of ſalt fiſh, and they export much of the produce of the country adjoining; beſides theſe articles, they carry on a good trade to the Baltic, and build many ſhips; ſo that altogether, it is a place of conſiderable buſineſs, and the merchants are rich.

To Medenblick is eight miles more; I walked alſo, for the ſame reaſon as before. This is but an inſignificant place; and my inn, The City of Hoorn, a bad one; yet being much tired with a walk of 16 miles, I ſtaid the night of the 28th. They have a ſhare of the Baltic trade here. The whole country is as rich meadow-land as can well be conceived; it is much divided into little portions, the properties of diſtinct perſons; but ſome of it that is let, yields at the rate of from three to four pounds Engliſh per acre; but this is particular pieces. There is much cattle, notwithſtanding their dread of the diſtemper, beſides great numbers of very large ſheep. As my deſign was to paſs over to Frizeland from the very Northern point of Holland, taking the Iſlands in my way, but at the ſame time to ſee Alkmaar,

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and the country around it, I found it was neceſſary to do the latter firſt; but I was again puzzled, as the treckſchuyt goes only by Hoorn, there being only a waggon directly from Medenblick to Alkmaar; and as the very appearance of that machine was ſufficient, I determined once more to take to my legs; and, though the diſtance is no leſs than ſeventeen miles, to make it a day's journey on foot. I ſent my baggage by a Dutch ſkipper to Helder, in the Northern point of Holland, a little fiſhing town, to remain there till I came from Alkmaar. The country through which I paſſed, once conſiſted principally of lakes, but, like the Beemſter, they have been all drained, and now make an excellent appearance, being all cut into rich meadows, and hardly an acre in the whole track loſt. All the canals and dykes are planted with rows of trees, of which, if any thing, there are too many. The villages are thick and well peopled, and all of them carry that agreeable neatneſs and good order, which would alone make travelling in Holland wonderfully agreeable. The women and children were principally employed in making nets. At Broeckerſpell, a little village which is about half way, I baited at an inn, which in England would

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be called a hedge alehouſe; but I remarked, that the houſe, and all the furniture, were as clean as in any other. Cleanlineſs is the characteriſtic of the people, eſpecially of the lower ones.

I got to Alkmaar in the evening of the 29th, and fixed at the City of Amſterdam inn, where I met with extreme good entertainment, and much civility. This city is as well ſituated, reſpecting beauty, as any one can be in a country perfectly flat; it is ſurrounded by a great number of gardens, orchards, and rich meadows: very near it, they ſhow a grove, which would make a figure in the beſt regular garden in England; it is beautiful. The ſtreets of this city are regular, and well built, but the churches, and other public buildings, have not any thing very ſtriking in them. Upon enquiry, I found there was neither treckſchuyt, nor chaiſe, nor waggon to Helder; I was therefore again obliged to determine on a walk, and this was to be a long one, for the diſtance is 23 miles; for the firſt ſeven, I got two horſes for myſelf and man, but no offers of money could tempt the owner to allow me to have them on, becauſe he had buſineſs another way. The country is all thickly ſtrewed with villages, and is exceeding rich

meadow

meadow land. Every houſe I ſaw has a garden, which the boors all cultivate extremely well; net-making goes on throughout this country.

The number of their poor, which the Dutch maintain by their herring fiſhery, is very conſiderable, and ſhould make us, on whoſe coaſts they go to fiſh, more attentive to reap advantages, which nature has laid at our doors. Our poor rates, in vaſt tracks of the country, run extremely high, and in others, our poor are ſtarving for want of employment; while our more induſtrious and meritorious neighbours maintain themſelves on our fiſh, and have the trouble of going 200 leagues to catch, that which we might take in our own harbours. The whole circle of European politics does not offer a more ſtriking inſtance of ſupineneſs. The infinite advantages, which would attend the eſtabliſhment of a great herring fiſhery in ſome of the Weſtern iſles of Scotland, that are the beſt ſituated for the buſineſs, ought to engage our government to act with more vigour in that affair. All the plans, that have been laid down by the corporation of the free Britiſh fiſhery, are nugatory and ridiculous. The only poſſible way of ſucceeding (and the Dutch owned to me more than once)

once) would be to build a town in the Weſtern iſles, and make it the ſeat of the whole undertaking. There to build all the buſſes and boats uſed, to make the nets, to eſtabliſh manufactures of cordage, ſmall anchors, &c. with yards, docks, magazines, &c. alſo to have the ſhips that carried the herrings to market, built and rigged there, and in regular employment; the coopers that made the barrels ſettled on the ſpot; alſo bounties ſhould then be given for every buſs, boat, or barrel of herrings; but the company ſhould, above all, attend to provide an immediate market for all the fiſh caught, and ſalted and barrelled according to their directions, under the eye of their inſpectors. It then ſhould be their buſineſs to load their ſhips with them, and freight away for the Mediterranean, Portugal, and the Weſt Indies. When once the fiſhermen found a certain market for all they caught, and cured honeſtly, their profeſſion would encreaſe amazingly; new towns would riſe up, and a general alacrity ſpread through all the coaſts. This would form new markets for all the productions of the neighbouring eſtates, which would animate their culture; and infinitely increaſe the value of the land. All this is in the power, not of the King and Parliament alone, but

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of any great nobleman of conſiderable property in the iſlands. A private capital of 20,000l. would go further than five times that ſum in the hands of a public company.

I went out of my way for the ſake of viewing Schagen, a village, around which, I was informed, I ſhould ſee the richeſt ſoil in Europe, and the fineſt meadows. I examined them attentively; it is a black, moiſt, deep loam, nothing can have a finer appeance; but I did not find any great difference between it and the lands in other parts of the Province. As near as I could get my information, an acre Engliſh of theſe meadows will more than ſummer-feed a large cow; ſome of them are let in large parcels, at 3l. an acre. Moſt of the road, from Schagen to Helder, runs on the top of a vaſt bank, which ſecures one coaſt of the Northren promontory; it is hardly two miles wide from ſea to ſea, and is as great a curioſity, I think, as any in the country. Helder is a little fiſhing village, very pleaſantly ſituated. I was ſhewn to the inn, which was but a miſerable one, however the cleanlineſs made amends much better than any circumſtance would have done at ſuch a place in England. On enquiry for my trunks, I was infinitely ſurprized and diſappointed. to find that they were not arrived;

Mynheer

Mynheer Van Hoelſt, the Captain of the ſkipper, had not been heard of ſince his departure; but my landlord knew him well; and he aſſured me, I need be in no pain for my baggage, as the wind had been contrary theſe four days. Neceſſity has no law, I was obliged to ſubmit, and, much to the landlord's ſatisfaction, inſtead of making my paſſage over to the iſle of Texel directly on my arrival, I was forced to ſpend the night at his houſe; however, the Dutchman provided me ſome ſoles, lobſters, and a tender chicken, with a bottle of bad claret; ſo I ought not to complain much of my quarters, conſidering the place was only a fiſhing village.

Early in the morning of the 31ſt, my Dutchman informed me, that the wind continued contrary, that I had no hopes of ſeeing my baggage that day; that I muſt make myſelf contented; that he would have an excellent diſh of fiſh for my dinner, as he purpoſed going a fiſhing with his own boat; that it ſhould be back exact at three, and my dinner ſhould be worthy of an Emperor. The fellow, I believe, has a little foreign blood in his veins; he is not ſo phlegmatic as the Dutch in general; but civil, boaſting, and at the ſame time attentive to let me ſee,

that he puffed only his capability of pleaſing me. I liked the fellow; told him I would have a day's fiſhing with him; that he ſhould take a caſe of claret with him, a ſtove, bread, ſauce, &c. we would dine in his boat on the fiſh, freſh as they were caught. This propoſal pleaſed him much; I ordered breakfaſt, and about ten o'clock we ſet out on our fiſhing ſcheme. The coaſt is well ſupplied; we caught fine turbot, ſoles, exceeding fine plaiſe, which, I think, are preferable to their ſoles; and crabs, with ſeveral other ſorts; and made a delicious dinner on them; the Dutch diſh, ſtewed in greaſe of Shakeſpear, might be the cookery of that age, but it is not of the preſent. I did not find oiled butter even at the loweſt inns.

In the night, my friend the ſkipper arrived, and with him my trunks. The next morning, June 1ſt, I hired a ſloop to carry us over to Texel, of which iſland I purpoſed taking a view. I got there in an hour, and walked to Burch, the town in it, ordering the ſloop to coaſt thither, as I had agreed with the ſailors to carry me to Flie Iſland, and from thence to Harlingen. The Texel is about ſix miles long, and four broad; the ſoil is a rich meadow, and in every reſpect like North Holland; the banks and ſand hills,

hills, for defending it from the ſea, are very ſtrong and well made. At Burch is a ſtrong fortification, with a garriſon in conſtant duty. This iſland is totally fed with ſheep, of which, though large, they keep four to an acre; but they do not fat them. They are principally ewes, which they milk regularly like cows, and make cheeſe of it; I taſted it, and wonder much that any writers ſhould be ſo abſurd as to call it excellent; it is very indifferent. The inhabitants apply themſelves principally to the herring fiſhery, in which they are reckoned greater proficients than the ſailors on the main land; here are alſo many pilots. From the Texel I paſſed over to the Iſle of Flie, which is about nine miles long, and in ſome places three or four broad. The face of the country is the ſame as the Texel, a flat of good rich paſture, with ſtout banks to defend it from the ſea. From hence I embarked for Harlingen, and landed there in the night of the 3d of June; taking my quarters at the Peacock inn, where I met with indifferent accommodation. The landlor ſhewed me on my firſt coming, into a ſort of common room, where there were many ſorts of gueſts. This I had met with in villages, but not in conſiderable towns. I told him, I muſt have a room to myſelf; he

replied in Engliſh, that he had none; upon which I ordered the beſt ſupper his town would afford, a bottle of claret, and another of white wine, on condition I had a room. This brought him to his beſt behaviour, and I was accommodated to my wiſh. This is one inſtance in a thouſand, in which travellers receive a treatment proportioned to the money they ſpend; nor ſhould thoſe, who are apt to be too œconomical, condemn the inns and landlords of a country, when they mind only the keeping their money in their pockets. But whenever a tour, whether at home or abroad, is thought of, if it be on pleaſure, and not merely on buſineſs, it is ſurely never worth while to ſave fifty or three ſcore pounds in five hundred, and thereby render a very long journey diſagreeable.

Harlingen is very well built, the ſtreets are regular, and moſt of them have handſome canals. The harbour admits ſmall ſhips into baſons that are quite ſurrounded with houſes; but thoſe of a heavy burthen muſt be unloaded. There are ſome conſiderable paper manufactories, and alſo ſome fabrics of ſail cloth, which are flouriſhing. I made an excurſion or two into the neighbouring country, and found a great change from

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North Holland; for inſtead of the unvarying rich meadow lands of that province, here I found a great mixture of arable fields; they ſow much barley and wheat, and I obſerved ſeveral fields of very fine clover; alſo others fallowing for the ſucceeding crop of wheat, and ſome for coleſeed, which, they ſaid, they ſhould ſow the latter end of the month; they uſe it for extracting oil from the ſeed. Here let me remark, that I think the Dutch are much worſe arable farmers than graſs ones; but at this indeed I am not ſurprized, for it muſt be much more difficult to conduct ſuch land than meadow, which admits not of near the ſame variety. Some of the fallows, I obſerved, were kept in a manner common in England; that is cloddy, and not abſolutely free from weeds; and I remarked, that the wheat crops were not clean. I am no huſbandman, and ſhall not venture to pronounce, whether abſolute garden management, reſpecting the entire freedom from weeds, will anſwer to a common farmer by more than paying the charges; but it certainly ſhould be the aim to come as near ſuch perfection as profit will allow; but the books of huſbandry, which I have read, ſeem to dwell on this point as the ſine qua non.

The paſtures about Harlingen are not equal to thoſe of North Holland.

I took the treckſchuyt to Franeker the 5th of June. It is a very pretty, neat town; the buildings much better than thoſe of Harlingen. There are many of the Frizeland nobility that uſually reſide here; and alſo an univerſity, that has given education to ſome writers noted for their learning. The ſame day I paſſed on through a rich country, with much arable land in it, to Leuwarden, which is the capital of the province. It is ſurrounded with ſome ſlight fortifications; the ſtreets are regular and well built, and kept very clean; and in ſome parts of it, are canals with rows of trees. The Prince of Orange has a palace here, which I viewed; but it contains nothing worthy of obſervation.

As I had a letter of recommendation to M. Sautyn, a gentleman of conſiderable wealth in this city, I waited on him ſoon after my arrival, and he was ſo obliging as to walk with me about the place, and explain whatever I deſired to be informed of. I accepted his invitation to dine with him, and was genteelly entertained. He carried me in the afternoon a round through ſeveral villages, in his chaiſe; during which time he gave me

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ſeveral intereſting particulars concerning the province of Frizeland.

There is a good deal of arable land in different parts of it, but much excellent meadow; upon my obſerving to him, that I thought the meadows in North Holland had a richer appearance than thoſe I had ſeen in Frizeland; he replied that theirs might not be equal in general to thoſe of Holland, but that many tracks were excellent, as I might judge by the horſes, cows, and ſheep; all theſe are large, but not ſo remarkable as Mr. Sautyn ſeemed to think them. The South-Eaſt part of the province is but poor land, much of it ſandy, and not ſo well inhabited as the reſt. He ſaid, their farmers were in general reckoned very good ones, though not equal to the beſt in Flanders; but that they had ſeveral articles of culture in as great, or greater perfection than in that famous territory; particularly carrots and turnips. That in manufactures, Holland, &c. much exceeded them, though they poſſeſſed ſome conſiderable fabrics of woollen cloths, and alſo of linens: their trade was not flouriſhing. He remembered, he ſaid, when there was much more buſineſs carried on at Dockum, Leuwarden, Harlingen, and Stavoren than at preſent; that the herring

fishery was now the principal support of the two latter towns. I begged to know his thoughts on the reason of this declension of trade; and he said, that it was not peculiar to the province of Frizeland only, but, he apprehended, pretty generally felt all over the United Provinces; but that the immense trade carried on at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, did not allow the declension to be so visible. I observed, that the great rise and support of their Republic having been a general commerce with all countries, and of making Holland an universal magazine for all products and all commodities, that extended business depended solely on other nations not attending to trade; but when all around them were striving as hard as possible to get all they could, and every people wanted a great navigation, the case altered much, and every one grew rich at our expence. But, added he, it is you (meaning England) that have done us most mischief; we are all sensible, that our grand rival in trade is London, and every great increase of that city's commerce, is made much at the expence of that of Amsterdam, &c. But he further remarked, that their country had two other causes, to which they attributed their decline, national debts, says he, and a change

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of manners. Our national debt has rendered ſo many taxes, in the ſhape of cuſtoms and exciſes, neceſſary, that we have hardly any commerce but what is grievouſly burthened, and all our home conſumption is rendered exceſſively dear; but even this has not been of half the ill conſequence that the change of manners has brought about; our country was once famous for frugality, and even for parſimony; our great commerce was long founded in this, for we could afford to trade where no nation could rival us; and the cloſe attention given to commerce, which here far exceeded what was any where elſe to be met with, gave us a great ſuperiority: but now, our merchants are come into indulgences, even into luxury, which has crept in by degrees; ſo that dreſs, equipage, table, and all family expences are amazingly increaſed; the conſequence of this is very ſtrong and fatal; a man with an hundred thouſand florins, if he lives upon the product of ten thouſand, and applies that of ninety thouſand annually to his trade, it is very evident, that he will be able to increaſe and extend his commerce, in a very different manner from what he will do if he ſpends the product of thirty thouſand in his houſe, and increaſes his trade with only ſeventy thouſand: but this,

this, continued my friend, is a very moderate ſuppoſition; we have at Amſterdam and Rotterdam many merchants, who ſpend a larger part of their income than they lay up, that is, than they increaſe their trade with. The difference between the œconomy of one conduct, and the extravagance of the other, is amazing, and a difference not only to the individuals but alſo to the ſtate; for you may eaſily conceive, that, in exact proportion as the trade of an individual decreaſes, ſo much muſt the general aggregate of a nation's commerce decline alſo. This change of our manners is as viſible in Frizeland as in any other part of Holland; we had always a nobility, that kept themſelves clear of commerce; but this affectation increaſes every day in ten-fold proportion. Theſe nobles have raiſed the rentals of their eſtates in a moſt extraordinary manner within theſe hundred years, and live in a more ſplendid way than formerly; our merchants, when grown rich, vie with them, and are fond, in this free country, of outſhining them; this competition does us infinite miſchief; and the raiſing it is all the good which a nobility does in a commercial Republic. They belong to monarchies, and ought to be confined to them: what good can a nobility do in

in a country that exiſts only by trade, while that nobility deſpiſe trade? I attended with great pleaſure to theſe ſentiments of M. Sautyn, which certainly abound with much truth, and a refined knowlege of the real intereſts of his country. Our converſation laſted till our return to the city, when taking my leave of him and his family, I ſet out the next morning for Dockum.

That town contains nothing that is worthy of obſervation, unleſs the bridge, which is lofty enough to admit ſhips full-maſted under it, is reckoned ſuch. They have ſomething of a trade in exporting butter and cheeſe, of which the neighbouring country produces very large quantities, the land being chiefly diſpoſed in paſture, and the ſoil rich.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Groningen — Winſchooten — Happineſs of the lower claſſes of the People in this Country — Journey to Coevorden — Accident that befel the Author which brings him acquainted with a very intelligent Dutchman — Utrecht — Boiſleduc — Captain Rey's improvement on waſte Land — Bergenopzoom — Journey thro' Zealand — Culture of Madder.

JUNE the 7th I left Dockum, and took the boat to Groningen, the capital town of the province of the ſame name. The diſtance is twenty one miles, through a country the chief of which is applied to grazing. The lands appear to be well managed and laid out, and kept in the ſame neat way that I have admired through every part of Holland. There are many villages which ſeem populous. This twenty-one miles took us the whole day, from interruptions of many ſluices, ſome of which were out of order.

Groningen is a very handſome and remarkably regular built city; the ſtreets croſs each

each other at right angles, having numerous houſes that make a very good appearance; and the public buildings, which is not often the caſe, add much to the beauty of the place. It is ſurrounded with a fortification, which the inhabitants reckon very ſtrong, principally, I believe, becauſe the outworks were deſigned by Cohorn. St. Martin's church is worth ſeeing; they have a remarkable organ in it which is ſhewn to ſtrangers; and they conduct them to the top of the ſteeple, from whence is a very extenſive proſpect over the adjacent country, and well worth viewing, from its being a country chiefly of rich land, interſected with fine canals. The great ſquare is remarkably handſome, regularly laid out, and well built. Here alſo, though Groningen is an inland place, is a beautiful harbour for ſhips, well fenced with quays, whereon is a good appearance of buſineſs. The canal that brings up theſe ſhips is a very noble one. There being other canals, which branch every way from hence, the town carries on a good trade with all the neighbouring countries; and pretty far into Germany. Upon the whole, I have not, ſince my arrival in Holland, ſeen a place that pleaſes me better.

June

June the 9th I left this town for Winſchooten, at the diſtance of twenty miles, which we alſo performed in the treck-ſchuyt, taking us up ſix hours. The whole country is exceedingly well peopled, being full of villages, and the land made the moſt of by cultivation. It is a rich ſoil, applied chiefly to paſturage, with ſome arable lands, that ſeem well managed; for the crops were clean, and the fallows well tilled. The people ſeem remarkably chearful and happy; and that neatneſs and regularity, which I have traced every where through the other provinces I have travelled, is ſtrong here. This happineſs and content of the lower claſſes of a nation make travelling remarkably agreeable; for nothing is ſo miſerably irkſome as moving through a country where the inhabitants of it are ſo oppreſſed, as to be all in poverty and rags. But theſe great diſtinctions are all owing to variations of government; arbitrary power ſpreads nothing but poverty and miſery, but a free government bleſſes all the people that live under it. All the parts of Holland, through which I have travelled, are very heavily taxed; much heavier than in any country in Europe, where arbitrary power reigns; that is, a given number of people, pay more here to

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the State, and yet every body is at their eaſe, none oppreſſed, and moſt wealthy; ſhould not this ſingle circumſtance teach mankind the value of liberty? Abſolute power impoveriſhes ſo heavily, that the people have nothing to pay; the money torn from the people by irregularity and private oppreſſion, amounts to infinitely more than all the wealth that goes to the coffers of the Monarch. The King tyrannizes over the nobility; the nobility over the gentry; the gentry over the tradeſmen; and all of them fleece and oppreſs the countrymen. In ſuch a ſyſtem, from whence can property come? Nothing can exiſt with any ſecurity but land eſtates, for labour, induſtry, and ingenuity can create incomes only in free government ſufficient to yield taxes to the ſtate. How would a Dutch boor be able to bear a conſiderable ſhare in the public levies, if he was oppreſſed and brow-beaten by every neighbour, his ſuperior? As wealth is ſo much the idol and purſuit of all the Monarchs now in Europe, it is ſtrange, ſome ſcheming head has not fallen upon a means of qualifying the effects of arbitrary power; not for the ſake of the intereſts of humanity, but for an increaſe of their ſubjects wealth. The encouragement of agriculture, trade,

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and manufactures in France, carry ſomething of this appearance, but nothing yet done has been ſyſtematical; it has been by fits and ſtarts, and ever been rather from royal momentary bounty, than from eſtabliſhing more real liberty in thoſe points that would tend moſt to make people rich. The great difficulty is not the gaining a conceſſion from the crown, but from the nobility and gentry; who had rather be oppreſſed by a court, than not have the power to oppreſs their inferiors. Winſchooten is but a paltry town though fortified; but its principal ſtrength is from its ſituation, having ſeveral marſhes which would much incommode an army.

At my leaving Winſchooten I made enquiries concerning the roads and canals thro' the province of Overyſſel, and found that the principal paſſage was that to Amſterdam; but as I wanted to view the Eaſtern parts of that province, of which I had not met with any good accounts, I declined that route, and determined to go to Coevorden, which is thirty-nine miles from Winſchooten. There is no canal thither, nor any public way of travelling it, but in an irregular poſt-waggon. I agreed with a perſon, to whom my landlord carried me, for

for an aukward ſort of chaiſe, which held me and my ſervant, and with ſome difficulty my trunks; he was to furniſh me with a pair of horſes and a poſtillion, for the ſum of three and thirty florins, and I was to pay all the expences in going. The maſter of the chaiſe further inſiſted on our being a day and half on the journey, which he ſaid was neceſſary, as the roads acroſs ſome marſhes were very bad; and he ſaid, that at Sleen, a little village in the way, I ſhould meet with tolerable accommodation.

Early in the morning on the 10th, I ſet out, thus provided, for Coevorden, and made our firſt ſtage to Mepſche; to which we had a good road, through a rich country, well peopled; but at that place we turned off into a much worſe, the roads bad, and the villages but thinly ſcattered; the ſoil was in ſome places ſandy and poor, and in general low and marſhy; not managed and improved in that maſterly manner which I had obſerved in the other parts of the United Provinces. Many marſhes were indeed drained, but ſeveral were yet to do, that were viſibly capable of the improvement. We had not left Mepſche two hours, before our chaiſe broke down, but fortunately it was in ſight of a large farm houſe; the farmer, who

proved a very civil Dutchman, was in his yard, and upon obſerving our diſtreſs, came to aſſiſt us. I ordered my ſervant to inform him, I was an Engliſh gentleman on my road from Winſchooten to Coevorden; that I expected to reach Sleen by night, but feared this accident would make it difficult; that I ſhould be much obliged to him, if he would give me what aſſiſtance he was able; and that I would readily pay him whatever he demanded. The farmer was extremely civil, ordered the horſes into his barn; ſhewed me into his houſe, where he introduced me in a plain, ſenſible manner to his wife and his daughter; and ſent away one of his ſons for a neighbouring peaſant, who ſupplied the place of a wheel-wright; but in the mean time, he entertained me with ſome butter-milk, eggs, bacon, and greens, with good cheeſe; he was an elderly man, with a countenance as expreſſive of an open, honeſt heart, as any I had ever ſeen. His ſon returned in about an hour, and informed us, that the man, who was to ſet our chaiſe on its legs again, (the axle-tree being broke) was abſent, and would not be at home till late at night, and his family ſent us word that he could not be with us till early in the morning. As ſoon as the honeſt farmer

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heard this meſſage, he turned to my man and ſaid, let your maſter know, that he muſt be ſatisfied to ſtay where he is; my houſe is at his ſervice, I cannot entertain him well, but he will be better off than at the inn at Sleen, which is a mere hovel. I had picked up Dutch enough to underſtand part of this diſcourſe, and I made my acknowledgments to him as well as I could in that language. I was much pleaſed with my good fortune, in the accident happening ſo near a man that was ſo ready to aſſiſt me; I ſhould have found it far more diſtreſſing with the general run of peaſants.

The farmer, in the afternoon, went about his buſineſs in the fields, and I deſired leave to accompany him, and take my ſervant with with me for an interpreter. I think travellers do not attend enough to country buſineſs; not conſidering, that a well ordered agriculture, and improvements in the ſoil of a ſtate, are one of the chief pillars of every country. It is not that gentlemen can be expected to talk or write ſcientifically upon matters of huſbandry, the uſual courſe of education will not admit of it, nor, perhaps, would there be any great uſe in it; but ignorant perſons may, in the plain relation of what they ſee, be of ſervice to thoſe whoſe inclinations, or way of

prevailed them to the practice of husbandry; which is an art that was ever in much esteem among all wise and polished nations. The great objects that a traveller, especially one which proposes to publish the result of his travels, ought most to attend to, are those, which have the greatest probability of being useful to his own country; these are the laws, and their effects; which, however, can seldom be accurately investigated, unless the stay in a foreign country is of some duration; the trade, its rise, progress, and decline; the manufactures, the same; and, as I have just observed, if they would give some attention to agriculture, I see not where the harm would be; on the contrary, it might prove, in many cases, useful. It is in conformity with these ideas that I have, during my stay in Holland, made several enquiries concerning the state of husbandry, whether of pasturage or arable land, and was I skilled in the art, my enquiries would be more pertinent.

My friend, the farmer, informed me, that he hired his farm of the Count of Zencyle, and that he paid at the rate of six florins an English acre; but then he had much land of a very indifferent quality. The whole of his farm equalled 160 acres English, as near as I could compute. He had pasture and arable,

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as well as marſh and ſandy waſte in his farm, and alſo another piece of land, of large extent, partly belonging to him. I could not clearly comprehend his meaning, but ſhould apprehend, that it is the ſame, in fact, as an Engliſh common, the right of which is in ſeveral farmers, but no cottagers. As we walked over a piece of poor, ſandy ground, I aſked him, if he could not improve that ſoil; he replied, it was already very valuable to him, for the fallow year yielded him, without any tillage, a great crop of fern. This I thought was very ſtrange huſbandry, as I had uſually heard that plant repreſented in England as a pernicious weed; but he explained himſelf by ſaying, that the fern ſerved him in the moſt ample manner for bedding his cattle in their winter ſtalls. He obſerved, that this piece of ſandy land yielded a very large quantity of manure by this means for his better lands, and, at the ſame time, that his cattle were better bedded than with ſtraw only that they waſted in feeding. This made me enquire of him, if he always kept his cattle in houſes in the winter. The old man ſeemed ſurprized at this queſtion, and aſked me, where I ſuppoſed he kept them. I told him, that in England, all our farmers keep their cattle in the fields, during winter, as well as

ſummer. This he could not well comprehend. He informed me, that all the cattle of this country, old and young, and of all ſorts, were regularly kept in houſe through the winter. I aſked him, if this did not prove a very expenſive management. He replied, no: but if it was more expenſive, it would be abſolutely neceſſary; firſt, for the good of the cattle; as they would, he aſſerted, be pinched ſo with the froſts in winter, that twice the common quantities of food would be inſufficient to keep them in heart; and ſuch beaſts, as were very tender, he thought, would not outlive a winter in the fields. But, ſays the old man, where is your dung raiſed, if the cattle in England are in the fields all winter? This was a queſtion, the propriety of which ſtruck me, and for which I was not prepared with an anſwer; and the farmer, ſeeing, I ſuppoſe, my ignorance, went on: by keeping our cattle houſed, we not only preſerve them in good health, but alſo raiſe a large quantity of manure, wherewith we improve thoſe fields that will probably pay the beſt for it. It is very common, ſaid he, to feed the cattle with hay, turnips, and winter-cabbages, and to bed them at the ſame time with ſtraw; but thoſe among us, who have fern on our lands, give the ſtraw to our cattle

cattle of inferior value, and bed all ſorts with fern, which we find an improvement of the moſt valuable kind; for it enables us to ſubſtitute ſtraw as food for much of our ſtock, inſtead of hay. Another material point is the value of the dung; we find, from experience, that fern makes better manure than ſtraw; inſomuch that two loads of dung, made with fern, is equal in value to three made with ſtraw. Fern manure will laſt much longer in the ſoil than that of ſtraw. I conſidered all this information concerning fern as very valuable; for I well remember, that in England, a great deal of fern grows on very extenſive commons, and that no uſe is made of it; it is left to rot in the commons and warrens, as if impoſſible to be turned to any good uſe; but, I am afraid, that if the facts, which have been urged to me by this Dutch huſbandman, were ſtated ever ſo clearly to our Engliſh farmers, they would make no ſort of impreſſion on them, but would diſdain to take any ſuch leſſon.

This very intelligent farmer aſſured me, that he was the more attentive to this application of his fern, becauſe he found that the goodneſs of his crops depended entirely on the quantities of ſuch manure uſed. He ſaid, he ſhould not be able to make any profit

by his farm, if he neglected the article of raiſing as much dung as poſſible in the winter. He uſed not only his fern for this purpoſe, but made great uſe of a very marſhy bit of land he had, which was ſo wet that no cattle could get to it, except for about two months in the height of ſummer; this piece yields him a vaſt crop of ruſhes and flags, to the amount of ſeveral waggon loads. He applies them to the ſame uſe as his fern, that is, for bedding his cattle, and finds an equal advantage in it. Another circumſtance he informed me of, and which I think may be uſeful to mention, is a method he has in the management of his dung; at the ſame time that he beds his cattle with fern or ruſhes, he ſtrews ſand among them, in pretty large quantities: what the purpoſe of this was, I could not conceive, till he explained it. It is for encreaſing the quantity of manure, and alſo the quality of it, by abſorbing all the urine; and he ſaid, that it was not of the leaſt prejudice to the cattle. I muſt own this practice ſtruck me; I had never heard of any ſimilar one in England, but yet, it might be there imitated with profit. The management of his ſheep is exactly upon the ſame plan; for inſtead of folding them in the fields, as is the cuſtom in England, he, all winter

winter long, forms his fold adjoining to his barn, and litters them in the ſame manner as his cows.

The old man, obſerving me very attentive to his converſation, extended his walk to ſhew me his crops, which ſeemed to be very good; he had fields of moſt ſorts of common grain, and one or two of buck wheat, which he ſaid was very profitable. The only peculiar one, not known in the fields of England, was carrots; he had a long field of them, in which he had a large parcel of women and children weeding. This, he ſaid, was the moſt profitable crop on his farm. Night coming on, we returned to his houſe, where his wife and daughter had been preparing ſupper; it was common fare, but good of the ſort, and I eat it with the greater pleaſure, as I obſerved that the cleanlineſs of the houſe was truly Dutch. I gave my man orders to take care that the chaiſe was well mended early in the morning, and retired to reſt in a clean bed, much pleaſed with my reception. I took an early breakfaſt before my departure, and gave my worthy friend a purſe of florins with more pleaſure than I had a long time parted with money. He was extremely thankful, and we puſhed on for Coevorden, to my no ſmall ſatisfaction in

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eſcaping the inn at Sleen. The country we travelled through is indifferent, not rich, and much marſh land; we did not arrive at Coevorden till at noon of the 11th. It is ſituated in a low marſh, which renders it, with its fortifications, a place of much ſtrength, being eſteemed one of the keys of the United Provinces. In the war of 1672 it proved ſo, for the Biſhop of Munſter, making himſelf maſter of it, decided the campaign. It is not otherwiſe a place of any note: there is a manufacture of thread in it, which employs many poor women and children.

10 From Coevorden I agreed for another chaiſe to carry me to Zwoll, the diſtance 35 miles. Being forced to come again into the terms of lying on the road, though I could find I was not to expect good accommodations. I breakfaſted at Hardenburghs, and reached Ommen in the afternoon; where I was agreeably diſappointed by finding a very decent inn. The town ſtands pleaſantly on a river. All this line of country is marſhy, and ſome of it poor; but the road runs on higher and better grounds. It is not, upon the whole, an agreeable country, though, ſince I left Winſchooten, it varies from any other I had ſeen in Holland. On the 13th in the

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morning I got to Zwoll, which is a conſiderable place; it lies between two rivers, and has a branch that runs through the town. It is well built, the ſtreets regular, and there are ſeveral public edifices, that will catch the attention of a ſtranger. The fortifications are the greateſt ornoment to it, from being planted regularly. From Zwoll I took a regular poſt chaiſe to Deventer, the diſtance twelve miles. This is a rich country, and very well kept, but there are ſome marſh lands and ſandy tracks within ſight at ſeveral places. I went to the Crown inn, where I met with pretty good accomdation, but dear. Here is a tolerable appearance of trade, though nothing in compariſon of what it once poſſeſſed when a Hanſe Town. There are many people of fortune make it their reſidence, which renders the town chearful, and the more agreeable to ſtrangers; but the public buildings have nothing in them deſerving notice, though ſtrangers are ſhewn an uncommon old tower of great antiquity, the walls of which are near twenty feet thick; a notable fortification before that deſtructive compound with ſalt-petre was invented.

The next morning I went to Zutphen, which is eight miles further. The country

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is but indifferent. On ſome rich, ſandy loams they have tobacco here; which being an unuſual product of huſbandry in Europe, and what I had no where ſeen, I ſtopped to obſerve it. They dig their lands into three feet ridges, and ſet the crop in rows. They ſay, it requires very rich land, and that it does much miſchief to all the country where cultivated, for it robs all other lands of manure, and at the ſame time exhauſts the ſoil in a very extraordinary degree. They did not reckon it, theſe circumſtances conſidered, more profitable, or but little ſo, than common huſbandry. Zutphen is ſituated in the midſt of drained fens, but is nevertheleſs reckoned by the inhabitants to have a very wholeſome air. It is a large and well built town, and ſtrongly fortified; the public buildings are handſome, and deſerve notice, particularly a bridge over the river Berks. The old church is a fine building, and the ſteeple very high; all the towns in Holland have their Stadthouſes as well as Amſterdam, but many of them are very mean edifices, like our Town-halls in Engliſh corporation towns, which are generally heaps of rubbiſh. This however of Zutphen deſerves notice.

The fourteen miles from Zutphen to Arnheim, by Doeſburgh, is through various ſorts

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of lands, but ſome of them very indifferent. I was informed, that moſt of the county of Zutphen, and a great part of Guelderland, conſiſted in general either of marſhes, heaths, or but half improved ſands, which much ſurprized me; for I had conceived, that the United Provinces were ſo thickly inhabited, that almoſt every ſpot was richly cultivated; but the caſe is, the people are very unequally diſtributed; the province of Holland is full of cities and towns, and every inch cultivated, but theſe parts, being much more out of the way of trade, are not ſo thronged with people. Arnheim is a very fine city, extremely well built, with ſeveral beautiful ſtreets. It is the reſidence of many perſons of fortune and diſtinction, who ſupport themſelves without the aſſiſtance of trade. The place is very lively, having a greater air of chearfulneſs and eaſe than moſt I had been in of late. My quarters were at the Peacock inn, which is kept by a Frenchman, who had a ſmattering of Engliſh. I was treated well here, and ſerved with a table that almoſt deſerves the epithet of elegant, and yet the expence was not extravagant. From this place I made an excurſion to ſee Loo, the famous favourite ſeat of King William. The whole is a vile country, all heaths and foreſts,

tells, and in the midſt of which ſtands the palace. It contains nothing that figures much to an Engliſhman, who has viewed the fine buildings in his own country. The gardens are what the Dutch moſt admire; but theſe are quite in the old ſtile, with water-works, baſons, and regular caſcades; but the ſhady walks they ſhew you with ſome oſtentation, and they are indeed very well planted, and the trees large, but all is clipt and regular. Roſendall is in the ſame taſte, but the building highly ornamented. Another excurſion I made was to Nimeguen, on the canal which is cut ſtrait between theſe cities, at their joint expence. It is a large and conſiderable city, ſtrongly fortified, being conſidered as one of the keys of the United Provinces, and is the capital of that of Guelderland. It is very populous, having ſeveral manufactures that are flouriſhing. There are ten churches in it. St. Stephen's the principal, in which is a very fine monument of Catharine of Bourbon, wife to Adolph VII. Duke of Guelder. The Stadthouſe is a conſiderable edifice, but has nothing elegant in it. From the old caſtle there is a very beautiful proſpect of the adjacent country. This place is much noted for the treaty of peace between the French

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and the allies in 1678, of which Sir Wm. Temple has left ſo excellent an account.

Early on the 17th I left Arnheim, on my way to Utrecht. It is two and thirty miles, through an extreme pleaſant, and much of it a rich country, abounding with ſeats and villas. It is well peopled, and ſeems rich. Utrecht is one of the firſt cities in the United Provinces; it is ſpacious, and very populous, and excellently ſituated in a beautiful country. The chief ſtreets, which are regular and well built, are cut through with canals: the new Gratch and the Vaert run through the whole city, having no leſs than five and thirty bridges over them. The edifices on the former would do credit to any city in Europe. The ſquare is ſpacious, and is the centre of ſeveral regular ſtreets, that cut one another at right angles. Utrecht is longer than the Hague, and next to it, is the principal reſidence of the nobility, and all polite perſons who live on their private fortunes; beſides which advantages, it is the capital of the province of the ſame name, and where the ſovereign courts are held. The cathedral is in ruins, nor is there any other public buildings that deſerve notice. The ſteeple of this cathedral is however one of the higheſt in Holland, and from it I had the ſatisfaction

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of viewing an amazing proſpect over Five of the Seven Provinces, and a great way further towards Cleves in Germany. They ſhewed me above fifty walled towns in the neighbourhood, none of them more than a day's journey from this city. Utrecht is the ſeat of a flouriſhing univerſity, in which are great numbers of ſtudents from various parts, particularly from Germany and the North of Europe. One of the moſt agreeable ſpectacles here, is, what they call their Mall, from that of St. James's park. It is near three quarters of a mile in length, with four large parallel walks with rows of trees: here the beſt company in Utrecht parade backwards and forwards, eſpecially on Sunday evenings in ſummer. The environs of the city are perfectly agreeable, being full of gardens, orchards, canals, and walks; but the ſoil is too ſandy for the rich verdure of meadows, and therefore there are arable fields very near the city.

I took my leave of Utrecht on the 20th, and went by the treckſchuyt to Vyann, in my way to Boiſleduc. This is a little town of an agreeable appearance, which does not belong to Holland, but to the Counts of Brederode. The air is reckoned remarkably clear and fine; but this may be occaſioned by

by many people retiring here under pretence of the air, but really from very different motives. It is very troubleſome to the Dutch. The country is moſt of it ſandy. Gorcum is the next ſtage, and is ſituated on the river Waal; it is pretty ſtrongly fortified. They are famous here for freſh water fiſh; I had as fine tench for my dinner as ever I ſaw, and the price is moderate. From hence it is 20 miles to Boiſleduc, through Worcum and Hueſden, both which places are fortified. The country is all indifferent; but even the worſt ſoils, and the moſt unintereſting natural views, are rendered pleaſing by the great ſpirit of neatneſs and regularity which is every where found.

Boiſleduc is one of the grand frontiers of Holland, being extremely well fortified by art, and better ſtill by nature. It is ſituated on a riſing ground, in the midſt of an extenſive marſh, through which there would be no poſſibility of approaching it, were there not cauſeways made, and theſe are ſtrongly fortified by redoubts. The town is five miles in circumference, being on the confluence of the three rivers, Domel, Aa, and Dreſe; and its ditches are filled by their waters, which contribute much to the ſtrength of the place. Theſe rivers form ſeveral very fine

canals, which run through the heart of the city: over theſe there are fifty ſtone bridges. Ten good ſtreets center in the principal ſquare, which has a fine effect; but this ſquare is ſurrounded by timber buildings, which are mean. As to public buildings, the church of St. John is a very noble one; but the clock, which they ſhew with much oſtentation, is not ſo greatly ſtriking. The Stadthouſe is a handſome edifice, raiſed on the plan (but much ſmaller) of that at Amſterdam. Here are ſeveral very flouriſhing manufactures, particularly in the linen and woollen way; and ſome of knives and other hardware, and alſo of needles. I made enquiries into the ſtate of theſe fabrics, and the report I had was more favourable to them than uſual; moſt of them being in a ſucceſsful ſtate. The linen trade is not ſo flouriſhing as formerly, but, I believe, even that has no reaſon to complain. The country, for ſome miles to the South Eaſt of this town, has many extenſive tracks of waſte land, which would well anſwer cultivation: but the inhabitants do not in general ſeem much attentive to ſuch buſineſs, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of certain individuals, who have attempted it. Amongſt theſe, there is a Captain Rey, of whoſe great undertakings I had

had read in two or three books lately publiſhed in Holland. This gentleman is ſettled at Tillebourg, twelve miles from Boiſleduc. I took a journey thither, purpoſely to view his improvements: the hiſtory of which is this. In the neighbourhood of that town are very extenſive heaths, that are common, the appearance of them not at all inviting, and the value to the public contemptible. M. Rey, of the regiment of Pepin, petitioned the States of Boiſleduc for a grant of a part of theſe heaths, engaging at the ſame time to cultivate them. His requeſt was refuſed, from that little ſpirit of raiſing difficulties, which is ſo often found to arm againſt thoſe who ever purpoſe any novelties. A year elapſed after this refuſal, when, by ſome means or other, the knowledge of this affair was ſo ſpread, that it came to be debated in the States General; where a member, ſenſible and worthy, I doubt not, propoſed, that the Captain's petition ſhould be complied with, as an object that tended evidently to the public good. It was at once agreed to, and Captain Rey put in poſſeſſion of the lands he had deſired.

It is a miſtake in ſeveral writers to ſay, that this gentleman executed all his works merely with his pay as a Captain; for I had it from his own mouth, that he began with a

ſmall private fortune, which was of great uſe to him, more in gaining him credit for the ſums he wanted to borrow, than in the application of that particular amount. This fortune, however, was but inconſiderable.

Upon my arrival at this gentleman's farm, I ordered my ſervant to inform him, that I was an Engliſh gentleman on my travels, and having heard much of his great improvements, was come from Boiſleduc purpoſely to deſire permiſſion to ſee them. The Captain came himſelf to my chaiſe, and very politely deſired me to alight, telling me that he would ſhew me what little matters he had done with the greateſt pleaſure, and immediately conducted me to his houſe. It was about one o'clock; the Captain ſaid, he ſhould dine preſently, and in the interim deſired permiſſion to ſhew me his chateau, and his farming offices.

All theſe, he informed me, he had built by degrees, for that not a ſtone was to be ſeen before he began his works. The houſe is ſmall, but ſubſtantial, conſiſting of a little paſſage in the center, and a parlour on each ſide; one is the common room, and the other for company; behind theſe is a kitchen, and an adjoining room for his work people, with ſome other conveniencies; and over all four bed-

bed-chambers. He has a large barn, two ſtables, three houſes for cows, and ſome other inferior offices, ſurrounding a ſquare court near the houſe. When he had ſhewed me theſe buildings, he returned to dinner; a ſlight but genteel repaſt provided, not expenſive, but frugal. The Captain is a man of ſenſe, and has ſeen enough of the world to avoid that very falſe politeneſs of apologies. I give you, Sir, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to me, good bread, good beer, good wine, and good cheeſe; as to all the reſt, I attend no further. This is certainly the ſenſible line of life; a man may always have theſe in ſtore, ſo as not to be put to a nonplus if any ſtranger calls upon him. I have heard this language more than once in England, but never till now beheld the conduct really exiſting, and reduced to practice. The converſation turned upon agriculture, and the Captain's improvements. "When I came here, Sir, ſaid he, I found all an open common, covered with buſhes, fern, and other trumpery, without one incloſure, or a ſingle advantage that I could apply to uſe. I firſt erected one half of this houſe, in which I reſided while all the other works were going on. I began with a pair of horſes and a yoke of oxen, with which I broke up a field of ten acres.

I could have managed a larger undertaking, but the fences were not completed, for I have ever made it a rule of conduct, to incloſe completely the piece of land I deſigned to improve. I have obſerved ſome waſte lands in France, attempted to be improved, without attending to this rule, but never with ſucceſs. My crops upon my firſt incloſure were good, and gave me courage to proceed with ſpirit in my undertaking. I ſhould have been better able to encounter the difficulties I met with, had I been more practiſed in huſbandry; but for want of experience, I made blunders at the very beginning of my undertaking, for I was too eager after profit in ſowing corn, whereas the firſt buſineſs ought to have been the raiſing winter food for cattle; and this, ſaid he, ought to be the great object in all beginnings." I did not comprehend this reaſoning, as it appeared to me, that raiſing what would buy food for cattle, was in effect raiſing that food; however, as M. Rey continued his obſervations, I did not interrupt him for an explanation. "The year following I encloſed two fields, each of ten acres, which I was forced to grub up, to bring the land into order for the plough to work in. This was a great and an expenſive work; and I made it the more

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ſo, from trying an experiment in cutting the ſurface of a part for burning it, from the practice of a French nobleman, who has publiſhed a work on improvements of waſte land. The ſoil alſo being ſandy, I was much troubled in making the fences; my method was to cut a ditch, and plant a live hedge of hornbeam on the bank, which, you will ſee, has at laſt anſwered perfectly well; but the expence of defending it, while young, with the rubbiſh that was cut from the heath, I found conſiderable. I purchaſed this year three cows, and began to think myſelf a conſiderable farmer. In this manner, Sir, I continued a gradual increaſe of cultivated land for five years, making alſo occaſional additions to my live ſtock, to my ſervants, and alſo to my buildings; and it pleaſed God to proſper my undertaking, that I then found but little difficulty in getting credit for twenty thouſand florins, which enabled me to enlarge greatly my undertakings. The year following, I borrowed as much more, and the expenditure of that ſum, with the annual one of my own ſavings, brought my works in ſuch forwardneſs, that from that time I have had, not only an increaſing, but a profitable farm. I have been for ſome time paying off gradually thoſe incumbrances, and

ſhall ſoon be perfectly free on that head. A little experience pointed out my firſt errors, and the way to avoid them. I made it a point to increaſe my cattle, as faſt as I was able, and could do that only by bringing my lands to bear graſs. The common meadows require a rich ſoil, I therefore adopted the artificial ones. I tried Lucerne, eſparcette, clover red and white, ſpurry, &c. In Lucerne, I have never done any thing, except in one ſmall piece of rich land, that had been manured in a more ample manner than I could poſſibly afford, if I had extended the culture of it: the great red clover and ſpurry have been my principal friends; for I may truly ſay, I have had more aſſiſtance from them, than from any other branches of my cultivation. Turnips and carrots I have principally depended on for the winter ſubſiſtence of my cattle; and I find, that they prepare well for the graſſes. By adhereing to the modes which I have found moſt advantageous, I have no doubt of continuing to increaſe my profit. Nor ſhould I forget to obſerve to you, Sir, that I have found no ſlight aſſiſtance in my undertakings from a lettle ſettlement I have on my land, of five Palatine families, by whoſe means, at the ſame time that I have been a good friend to them,

them, they have done much in returning it; ſo that we are truly the better for each other." I here remarked to him that I ſhould ſuppoſe, the ſucceſs of ſuch undertakings, on whatever ſcale they are carried on, muſt depend very much on peopling the waſtes, deſigned to be improved; for without plenty of hands, how are improvements to be carried on? "Very true, he replied, and I am convinced from my own experience, that nothing would anſwer ſo well to their High Mightineſſes, as the ſettling poor German families on the numerous and extenſive waſtes which are in the provinces of Zutphen, Guelderland, Breda, and Overyſſel, for they would preſently make them well cultivated provinces; but improvements of theſe waſtes muſt be made by private perſons, for ſuch cannot well proſper in the hands of the public."

The Captain ſhewed me the principal parts of his farm which lye very agreeably around his houſe; it is a very pleaſing one to view, for the fences are new made, regular, and kept in excellent order. The crops, I obſerved, were all free from weeds, and every field appeared in good condition. What a practical farmer would pronounce on them, I know not, but I own, M. Rey appears to me

me to be an excellent huſbandman. He was entirely hoſpitable, for he inſiſted on my ſtaying all night, which I complied with, as I thought his converſation was uncommonly ſenſible and inſtructive. I could not leave him without reflecting on the great things, which may be executed by the force of induſtry and perſeverance. Captain Rey's eſtate, on the waſtes of Tillebourg, is a new creation; ſeveral families are ſupported by that land, which before did not yield enough to keep a ſheep. This is by no means to be conſidered ſingly as a private acquiſition, the State reaps probably more profit from it than the individual; for increaſing the value of the earth's products, is encreaſing the national wealth: and what acquiſition can be more valuable than that of new induſtrious ſubjects? The States of the country, who rejected M. Rey's petition, muſt now be convinced of the practicability and the profit of improving theſe waſtes, and the States General have plainly ſhewn their ſagacity in granting it. But what is very aſtoniſhing, this bright example has had ſcarcely any effects, except one or two inſtances of improvement which I heard of, but in ſuch a confuſed manner, that I could hardly make out whether it was on new or old incloſures.

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Is it not amazing, that M. Rey's great ſucceſs, ſhould have no followers? I apprehend, that gentlemen, in a ſimilar ſtate, are afraid of attempting ſuch undertakings, leſt they ſhould either be loſers by them, or perfect ſlaves to the work; and indeed while perſons are ignorant, it muſt require a certain enthuſiaſm in the mind to carry a man through all oppoſing difficulties, till ſucceſs hath ſecured and crowned his wiſhes.

Tillebourg, though out of the direct road to Breda from Boiſleduc, was now my neareſt way to it, I therefore took my leave of the Captain, thanking him very ſincerely for his hoſpitality, and made the beſt of my way to Breda the 24th. The road leads moſtly through uncultivated heaths, that require ſuch ſpirits as M. Rey's to improve, and would doubtleſs repay their attention equally as well. Breda deſerves the traveller's attention. It is one of the ſtrongeſt towns in Holland; the fortifications are very regular, and kept in excellent repair; the ſituation of the place is low, for the ſea can be let into the ditches, and from thence over much of the country, which muſt render an army's acceſs to it very difficult. The whole barony and town belongs to the Prince of Orange, who is the Sovereign, and has a modern built caſtle

caſtle for his reſidence when here, with gardens, and a ſmaall park. It is a large place, populous, and well built. From Breda I went the 25th to Bergenopzoom, which is twenty miles, through a much richer country. This city is large, and the ſtreets regular; the church and the palace were fine buildings before the ſiege in 1747. The market place is very large and handſome, but the fortifications are the principal objects in it. The Dukes of Parma and Spinola, both found them too ſtrong for all their power, which gave it the title of the Virgin fortreſs, and impregnable; for as ſuch it was reckoned before Marſhal Lowendahl came before it. It ſtands in the midſt of marſhes; ſo that every advantage of ſituation is united with thoſe of Cohorn, as he was long employed to conſtruct whatever works about it he thought neceſſary for making it as ſtrong as poſſible. A canal keeps open a communication with the ſea; and to defend this canal, there are redoubts, forts, paliſadoes, &c. without number, and a village ſtrongly fortified in the midſt. In a word, nothing was ſpared to ſecure to it its pretences to being impregnable; and it is the general opinion in Holland, that it really is ſo; and that the French would

would never have taken it with their cannon, unleſs they had loaded them with golden balls.

Having dined, and finiſhed my view of Bergem, I took boat for Goes, in the iſland of South Beveland, in the province of Zealand, where I put up at the Golden Lion, which is but an indifferent inn, and the people not very civil. The next morn, I made an excurſion to view the iſland, which is about fifteen miles long, and half as broad. The land all lies low, and is defended from the ſea by high banks. The ſoil is extremely rich, but not all applied to paſturage. I ſaw much corn, which appeared to be very fine and clean; and alſo ſome large fields of madder, which is a particular article of culture in this country, which they follow very aſſiduouſly, and from whence madder is called Zealand madder. It grows on flat lands, formed into regular oblongs by ſmall trenches, and in rows about a foot aſunder; it is a ſtraggling odd plant; yet I remarked, that they keep it very clean, by weeding and hoeing, for I could ſcarcely ſee a ſingle weed in a large field. They informed me, that it is three years in the ground, unleſs the growth

growth is extraordinary, and in ſuch caſe two are ſufficient; the valuable part is the root, which, when dried, makes a very fine dye: they eſteem it more profitable than any other article of huſbandry, but are forced to pick their land for it, as it will ſucceed only on certain ſoils: the great point is to find pieces dry enough for it, and at the ſame time extremely fertile, for no land can be too rich for it. Great quantities of madder are exported from moſt parts of Zealand to London, as the growth does not ſucceed in England, notwithſtanding all the endeavours that have been uſed to raiſe it.

From Goes, I went by water to Middleburgh, which is the capital, not only of the iſland of Walcheren, but alſo of all Zealand. It is one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the United Provinces, being very large and well built; the ſtreets are broad, regular, and very well paved; the public edifices ſtriking, and ſome of them magnificent. Here are twenty churches, among which the new church figures moſt; it has a very handſome cupola, and great merit in the architecture. Merchant veſſels come into the center of the city, by means of a canal from the ſea; ſo that Middleburgh enjoys a very conſiderable commerce, particularly

larly in Spaniſh and French wines, which are reckoned the ſtaple of the place. I made an excurſion through the principal part of the iſland, which was not a diſagreeable employment for a day. It is a rich, low, flat country, applied to raiſing both corn and paſture; and it abounds alſo with madder; but they ſeem to plant it in a different manfrom what they do in Beveland. I made ſome enquiries into culture here, as I had done there; and found that they reckon that a common crop from an Engliſh acre, will produce from three to four hundred florins in value, if it is in the ground three years; this is about thirty or forty pounds; but then the expences of the management run very high, and they manufacture it, for which ſeveral conſiderable buildings are neceſſary, before it is marketable. But notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, they eſteem it a more profitable article than either corn or graſs. From Middleburgh, I ſet out on the 27th for Bruges, through Dutch Flanders; the part I travelled, was not equally fertile in appearance, nor ſo agreeable as I had been given by the books to underſtand, but towards the Auſtrian Province it improves greatly. And here, as I conclude my journey through the dominions

dominions of the States General, it will be neceſſary to make ſome obſervations, and give a general review of ſeveral particulars concerning the Dutch, not ſufficiently explained in the preceding chapters.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Manufactures of Holland.

IT is not only that general trade of buying and ſelling, which has enriched to ſo great a degree this country, but it is fuller of manufactures than any other in Europe. The Dutch have numerous fabrics, which they work up from the products of all their neighbours, and of all parts of the world; theſe they vend in their general trade; and and this traffic is one of the principal pillars of their ſtate. I have, in various paſſages, in the preceding accounts, given the reſult of my enquiries on this head, at the manufacturing towns through which I paſſed; but there remains ſome general remarks to be laid before the reader, in order that he may have the better idea of the preſent ſtate of the Dutch manufactures; and this I ſhall do by taking ſome extracts from a very good account of them, which has been lately publiſhed in Holland, and which has not appeared in the Engliſh language.

"Holland has been the ſeat of manufactures without doing any thing actively to attract them. Workmen from every country, moleſted in their perſons, their eſtates, or their religion, have taken refuge here, with their abilities and their induſtry; this induſtry has ſuſtained them in a ſtate greatly flouriſhing, as long as the low price of labour would allow a profit ſufficiently great in the ſale of their fabrics. In the laſt age, it is certain, that there was no place comparable to Holland, for numbers of flouriſhing manufactures. In the principal cities of the province of Holland, were found the fineſt and richeſt fabrics of all ſorts, of ſtuffs, of ſilk, in every variation of gold, ſilver, &c. of wool, and linens of all ſorts, colours, and dies, the fineſt and moſt rare; ribbons and laces of gold, ſilver, and ſilk, velvets, gauzes flowered and plain, tapeſtries, leathers gilt, &c. All theſe manufactures exiſt at preſent, but with leſs eclat than formerly: they are, eſpecially in thoſe of wool, ſilk, gold, and ſilver, rivalled by the competition of Genoa, Venice, France, and England. They make at Amſterdam, gold and ſilver ſtuffs, damaſks, brocades, taffeties, mohairs, ſhalloons, velvets, and pluſhes. They imitate at Haerlem, many of the different kinds

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and deſigns of ſtuffs at Lyons; for they have never poſſeſſed, in theſe manufactures, the art of deſigning, which embelliſhes and enriches annually thoſe of Tours, and principally thoſe of Lyons, by a great variety, and by the graces of taſte and novelty. Theſe manufactures, and thoſe of woollen ſtuffs, at Leyden and Utrecht, which have for ſome time enriched their exportation, had not their birth in Holland, but were brought there by refugees. A general toleration, and a certain aſylum, have enriched Holland with the induſtry of other nations, and eſpecially with that of the French; and the prodigious extent of the Dutch commerce, joined to their intelligence and refined œconomy, have given to the manufactures of theſe refugees, a reputation which has inſured a great ſale of all the productions of their induſtry, and from thence brought them continually nearer to perfection. This reputation has been ſuch, that it has not been uncommon for the velvets manufactured at Milan, to be ſent to Holland, and from thence re-exported to Milan, for the Holland velvet; to which, beſides the expence of freight and commiſſion, this reputation alone would add a new value.

"The ſtuffs of Holland have ſupported for a long time the competition of thoſe of Lyons, and above all of thoſe of Paris, in ſpite of the great variety, taſte, and the beauties of deſign, in the fabrics of Lyons, which have for a long time decided the ſuperiority in all manufactures of ſilk. The ſilk ſtuffs of Holland have been ſought for in France for a great number of years, on account of their ſolidity, and eſpecially by thoſe who do not change with the mode. For in this atticle, ſuch has been the extravagance of the faſhion, that it every year receives imperious dictates from the fabrics of Lyons, by introducing new taſte and new deſigns.

"Manufactures have reſiſted for a long time in Holland, the exceſſive abundance of the currency, which commerce has, without ceaſing, accumulated, and which has neceſſarily become the ſcourge of their manufactures, particularly of thoſe which require the moſt labour and induſtry, or which are not ſupported by a great internal conſumption, as the ſilk ſtuffs. The ſobriety of the Dutch, and that of the French, become the ſame in Holland; and the ſmall profits, with which the Dutch merchants are contented, have ſuſtained for a long time thoſe manufactures in a flouriſhing ſtate. But the dearneſs

dearneſs of labour, occaſioned by the abundance of money, and the taxes upon houſes, and upon all the neceſſaries of life, has much hurt their manufactures, and even tends towards their deſtruction. There remains however, ſome ſmall ſilk fabrics at Haerlem, which the interior conſumption maintains; but which are weakly animated, from the competition of the ſimilar manufactures of France, and which it is very difficult for the republic to prevent the entry of. The other wrought ſtuffs richer, from a more complicated labour, have in many places ſtopped, even for the home conſumption, in favour of thoſe of France; and which is owing more to the cheapneſs of the latter, than to ſuperiority of taſte, deſign, or exactneſs in the execution of them.

"Commerce has rendered lace important, and induſtry has perfected the art of making it. It is become the ornament, and the diſplay of riches, after having been one of the ſigns of poverty: nevertheleſs, ſhew alone would not ſupport the cuſtom, but there is a kind of œconomy extended to laced cloths. The luxurious expence is more conſiderable in thoſe that are plain. The French, who know well how to be induſtrious, and to render their induſtry of value, have given to

their lace manufactures all the advantages of the greateſt reputation, particularly for lightneſs, brilliancy, deſign, and taſte. Paris believes herſelf to be unrivalled in her gold laces, and Lyons in thoſe of ſilver. The city of Amſterdam has endeavoured to partake of theſe advantages.

"It it generally agreed, that it is the thread of the ſilver of Lyons, which gives the lace the greateſt whiteneſs and brilliancy: they attribute this ſuperior quality of their thread over that of Paris and Amſterdam, to the waters of the Rhine, by which the workmen can only give a blueiſh white; and they pretend, that this is the reaſon which gives to Lyons the excluſive privilege of trading in the fineſt ſilver thread. It is not the ſame with that of gold. That of Paris and Amſterdam have different qualities: the colour of the Paris gold is more ſolid; that of Amſterdam has more of the vermillion, more éclat; and the Paris gold being weightier, is dearer than that of Amſterdam, and, in fine, has eſtabliſhed her lace at a higher price, without deſerving to be more valued, all other things being equal. The lace fabrics, which are at preſent very few in number, draw their gold thread from Amſterdam, and their ſilver from Lyons; but their laces

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can hardly ſupport the competition with thoſe of France. It is yet, nevertheleſs, a branch of foreign commerce, particularly the gold thread of Amſterdam.

"The cloth manufactures of Leyden and Utrecht, ſupport their reputation: the ſuperfines are as good and as fine as thoſe in foreign manufactures, and the blacks of Utrecht are always ſuperior; the camlets of Leyden equal thoſe of Bruſſels. There are of this ſort two manufactures united. The ratteens preſerve alſo their antient reputation; bnt the dearneſs of theſe manufactures reduces them entirely to the home conſumption. There is a difference between theſe fabrics and thoſe of France, of the countries of Limburg, Verviers, Aix la Chapelle, and Juliers, of nine or ten per cent. which is in foreign markets an immenſe diſadvantage to the manufactures of Holland; this diſadvantage to them is in common with thoſe of England in the ſame kinds.

"The neceſſities of commerce have introduced among all maritime nations manufactures of cordage, and it is without doubt one of the moſt antient in Holland. Riga, Koningſburgh, Memel, and St. Peterſburgh, furniſh almoſt all nations; and it is more in

this cordage, that the Dutch trade with the Southern nations, than in their own manufactures, which can ſcarcely furniſh the immenſe conſumption of their own marine.

"The manufactures of linens in the provinces of Groningen, Frizeland, and Overyſſel, are always equally ſupported. The fabrics of France, Flanders, and Germany, make none that even approaches them. The linens which are called Dutch, are diſtinguiſhed as much by the whiteneſs, the fineneſs, the grain, the equality, and the goodneſs, as by being meaſured by the ell, or the manner of folding; the moſt famous whitening grounds in Europe are at Haerlem; they give to their linens the luſtre and fine white that diſtinguiſhes them; they alſo enable the Dutch merchants to appropriate to themſelves foreign manufactures, which they buy in Weſtphalia, in the country of Juliers, in Flanders, and in Brabant, and which being whitened at Haerlem, are produced in commerce under the name of Dutch linens; for this whitening adds a new price to the linen when it is of a good fabric: they take care in this whitening, without the aſſiſtance of any regulation, not to give to the linens an artificial length, as we know is done in the whitening grounds

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of Flanders, by rolling them on boards: a lucrative article, but which degrades their linens by entirely altering their quality; they turn them at Haerlem only by hand, and they uſe the aſhes of the very beſt quality.

"The manufactures of paper are in a flouriſhing ſtate. It is ſurprizing, that they have been able to ſuſtain themſelves, ſince they have been multiplied ſo greatly in France, and in the Auſtrian Provinces; and eſpecially in countries, where the price of labour is low, which is a vaſt advantage in a manufacture that employs a great number of hands. Theſe manufactures, which have been recently raiſed and multiplied, have given a ſenſible ſtroke to thoſe of Holland, ſince the exportation of rags, of old linens, (which is the raw material) has been vigorouſly prohibited in France, and the Auſtrian Provinces. It is nevertheleſs one of the moſt precious manufactures which the republic has, as well for the home conſumption, which is immenſe, as in furniſhing an exportation; and this manufacture ſupports itſelf as well as others, for this very ſimple reaſon, the manufacturers content themſelves with a very ſmall profit, having no better means of making greater by their money.

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"The exportation of money from Europe for paying for the manufactures of India, (an exportation which is a reproach to the trade) is already much diminiſhed, and decreaſes every day by the progreſs of induſtry of the ſame ſort in Europe. We ought hence to regard the manufacture of porcelane as one of the moſt precious to Europe. Among the great number of modern manufactures, which European induſtry has raiſed in our time, in imitation of thoſe of the Indies, are thoſe of plain muſlins, ſtriped and bordered, which they make in Switzerland, and in France; linens of white cotton, and printed linens, which ſurpaſs thoſe of the Indies in beauty, taſte, and variety of deſign; pekins, ſattins, damaſks, gourgourans, cirſakas, armoiſins, and other ſtuffs, which equal all the patterns we have had from the Indies. The ſucceſs of all theſe manufactures is ſo great and happy, in continually deſtroying in Europe the uſe of the Indian fabrics, and reducing the importation of merchandize from the Eaſt Indies, to materials neceſſary for ſupplying our induſtry, to drugs and commodities which luxury conſumes. The commerce of the Indies, which uſed to be regarded as infinitely miſchievous to our induſtry, will ſoon become

come one of the branches of the trade of Europe, which will furniſh numbers of its people with the means of ſubſiſtence.

"The porcelane of the Eaſt Indies has been, for a long ſucceſſion of years, one of the articles of importation of Indian manufactures, which carried away moſt money from Europe; and the progreſs of our induſtry, in imitating this article, is ſuch at preſent, that this particular exportation of our money is almoſt deſtroyed; for the porcelane of China and Japan can no longer ſuſtain the competition with thoſe of Saxony, Vienna, Hoechſt in the Electorate of Mentz, Furſtenburgh, Séves, Louiſburg, Munich, Spain, Bareith Anſpach, Frankendal, Copenhagen, Berlin, Tournay, and Weſep near Amſterdam.

"The Indian porcelane had for a long time, the advantage of a roundneſs and proportion, always equal. We cannot yet find in Europe paſtes, which, like thoſe of the Indies, preſerve equally well their dimenſions in the fire; or in which the dimenſions given to vaſes geometrically, reſiſt the action of the fire; but this advantage, which is not generally apparent, and which, beſides, draws the attention only of connoiſſeurs, cannot balance the ſuperiority of taſte, the variety

variety of forms, the variety and beauty of the deſigns, and the painting of the European porcelane.

" That which has been eſtabliſhed and ſupported by M. the Count de Gronsfield, at Weſep, equals (in ſpite of all the obſtacles, which the dearneſs of labour, and the little ſubordination that can be found in a republic, oppoſed to the eſtabliſhment) the others in form and taſte, and by virtue of the ſecret of a ſuperior paſte, gives it a greater merit. A nation ſo induſtrious as the Dutch, ought to take part, and diſtinguiſh itſelf in this new effort of European induſtry, and in a ſort of manufacture, in which ſucceſs requires great œconomy, and a taſte very refined in deſign and form.

" The manufacture of porcelane at Weſep, which is already known, is come to produce its works in public, by the eſtabliſhment of a magazine at the Hague, with all the advantages of richneſs, and of abundance in the aſſortments. But if it is ſuperior in the white, and the paſte, to all other manufactures, if it has alſo the advantage of ſupporting the fire without experiencing the ſame alteration as the other European manufactures, we muſt not diſſemble that it has a defect, with which all manufactures of porcelane

celaine are reproached, which is the inequality of beauty. This imperfection might perhaps be regarded with much indulgence, or be conſidered either as an advantage to the public, becauſe we know there are eſtabliſhed in the manufacture of Weeſp different prices, proportioned to the degrees of this imperfection. In general, all magazines of the merchandize of luxury ought to be ſorted, not only into different kinds, but alſo to the different qualities, and the different prices in the ſame kinds, for equally anſwering the taſte and the abilities of purchaſers. Hence the impoſſibility, at preſent, found in all manufactures of porcelane, of producing only what is perfect. The public has now the power of purchaſing pieces of the ſame form and taſte, and for which a low price is an equivalent for the defects; beſides, theſe defects make little impreſſion on a great number buyers, who rather ſeek cheapneſs than perfection; and it is the ſale of theſe pieces, which are not of the firſt beauty, that ſupports all the porcelane manufactures. Thoſe who would pique themſelves on producing nothing but what was perfect, by vigorouſly breaking every piece that had any defect, as was the caſe heretofore in the manufacture

manufacture at Séves, fall neceſſarily into an exceſſive dearneſs.

"Camphire, vermillion, brimſtone, borax, azure, pitch, roſin, ſpermaceti, ſalt, and ſugar, and the refining all theſe, employ many hands, and furniſh much for exportation; that of ſalt is of great benefit to the republic, the Auſtrian Netherlands, the country of Liege, and ſome other territories of Germany. The ſugar refineries have loſt much by the competition of thoſe that have been raiſed on all ſides; but others have been gained by the progreſs of the colonies of Berbices, and Surinam, which furniſh at preſent theſe refineries, that uſed to import from France. It is an equal matter to the refiners, but very different to the republic.

"The whitening of wax is alſo very valuable to Holland, for her commerce with Spain, where the Dutch carry much; alſo the ſtarch manufacture, which works much for exportation.

"The oil and ſaw-mills are very rich objects, although they employ but few hands: the home conſumption of oil of coleſeed, and alſo of planks, is very conſiderable. Theſe two articles furniſh alſo a very great exportation. Holland produces but little coleſeed, but draws much from Brabant, and from Flanders. The planks of oak, which the

the Dutch draw from the Palatinate by the Rhine, are a branch of very rich commerce with France, where they are called the woods of Hollands, from making the whole conſumption; the Dutch uſe in their houſes, and in all their works of wood, only planks of pine and fir, becauſe their varniſh and extreme neatneſs preſerve them for a long time ſound.

"But the manufacture of all others the moſt important, the moſt extenſive, the moſt rich, and the moſt neceſſary, is the conſtruction of ſhips. The timber yards of the Admiralty, and the Company of the Indies, are immenſe, but they are not comparable to thoſe of the village of Sardam, which Peter the Great choſe as the firſt ſchool in Europe, for the conſtruction of all ſorts of naval buildings; and where he remained a long time unknown, in the quality of a ſimple workman, for the inſtruction of himſelf, and for raiſing a marine in his vaſt Empire. The works of this village are ſuch, that it has been ſaid, that if the ſhip-builders have three months notice, they would engage to launch a man of war every day. The republic pays foreigners for all the materials of this immenſe conſtruction; but commerce is well able to make the expence return

turn to the State, both of thoſe raw materials, and alſo of the workmanſhip, by means of freight, which is the firſt baſe of all the commerce of the republic, and the branch the moſt extenſive, and the moſt rich. After having determined the ſize, the burthen, and the form of a ſhip, according as the branch of commerce requires for which it is deſtined, there ought to be an extreme attention to the goodneſs of it, which depends immediately on the ability and the fidelity of the builder; alſo on the goodneſs of the materials, that is to ſay, the iron, the wood, the cordage, and the ſails.

"In general, the perfection of all merchantmen conſiſts in being of a great burthen, and the ability of navigating with the leaſt expence that is poſſible: a merchant ſhip ought to ſail well, to be eaſily managed, to carry her ſails well, to have eaſy movements, to contain much merchandize, and ought not to require a too numerous crew. But it is not eaſy to ſee a ſhip with all theſe qualities. It is much more difficult ſtill, to find a method of conſtruction capable of giving them all. The defects, even the eſſential defects, eſcape the view. The eye is deceitful, ſays M. du Hamel, and there is ſuch little difference between a good ſhip and a midling one, that it

it happens ſometimes, when two ſhips are upon the ſtocks, that to which we give the preference is found much inferior to the other which we look upon with a kind of contempt. In effect, how can the eye judge accurately, if the keel be proportioned to the weight of an armed ſhip? How can the ſimple inſpection tell us, if the ſize of the head and ſtern are proportioned to the weight which each of thoſe parts ought to carry? If nevertheleſs this proportion is not well obſerved, ſhe ſinks too much either behind or before; and if this fault is corrected by the ballaſt, &c. the movements will be rough, and will wear the maſting. How habituated muſt we be to ſee in ſhips, adds M. du Hamel, where preciſely to aſſign the poſition of the centre of gravity, the true curve of the water lines, &c? It is nevertheleſs from all theſe, and many other things, that are difficult to be perceived, on which depend the good or bad qualities of ſhips: they may make them wanting in every particular, or poſſeſſed of every good quality we can deſire.

"They approach, in the Dutch conſtruction, to the exactneſs of all theſe points of knowledge, as far as they can be permitted by the nature of the commerce of Holland,

and by her ports. They particularly excel in the management and lightneſs of the manœuvres, which give a great advantage in the market, and alſo for the ſecurity of navigation.

"It is nevertheleſs to be wiſhed, that they adopted in Holland the cuſtom of the Engliſh, who have obliged their ſhip-builders to preſent their plans of conſtruction to the Admiralty, for obtaining their approbation. A cuſtom ſo wiſe, to which the Engliſh owe the general advantage of their conſtruction, would perhaps immediately carry in Holland the art of conſtructing ſhips to the moſt high degree of perfection, and give great advantages to commerce, and in the reſult, be of infinite good to human nature.

It is much leſs difficult to make choice of good materials. The ſame ſpecies of wood, of different degrees of goodneſs, follows in courſe. In general, the timber of the South is better than that of the North, and thoſe which grow upon the mountains are ſuperior to ſuch as are upon the lower grounds. Different ſoils, different expoſitions and age, give different qualities; timber decayed, damaged, or too old, are bad for ſhip building. M. de Buffon has made an infinity of experiments for diſcovering the ſtrength of

wood:

wood: That of the branches, and the ſummit of the trunk of a tree is the weakeſt: all young timber is weaker than that more advanced in age: wood, which is elaſtic, reſiſts more than that which is not: of timber on the ſame land, that which grows the quickeſt is the ſtrongeſt, and that which grows ſlowly, and of which the annual circles are thin, is the weakeſt. You may eaſily reckon upon the tranſverſe cut of the trunk, the number of annual circles, which are diſtinctly ſeparated one from another, and which increaſe in the tree every year. M. de Buffon has found, that the ſtrength of wood is proportioned to its weight; a piece that is heavier than another of the ſame length and ſize, will be found ſtronger for the ſame reaſon. We might, purſuant to this obſervation, compare the force of the wood of different countries and different ſoils. It is above all in the curbs, where the ſtrength cannot be too great, for rendering the conſtruction ſolid, as they ſerve to faſten together the whole ſhip. An application of M. Buffon's obſervation might here be very uſeful.

"Soft iron ſhould be choſen. It is particularly important, that the iron of the pins ſhould never break; a good builder will uſe

none but what he has proved. We do not at preſent know any iron that has more good qualities for the uſe of the marine than that of Spain and Sweden. Although great perfection has been given to the furnaces of France and Germany, yet the Spaniſh and Swediſh iron always has the preference.

" An immenſe quantity of cordage is uſed in rigging a ſhip: they diſtinguiſh particularly that which is made from the hemp of Koningſburg, and Muſcovy. The firſt is eſtimated at Amſterdam at twenty per cent. better. That of Riga is inferior to that of Koningſburg by four per cent. The ſail cloth of Bretagne, particularly that known under the name of royales, has been a long time reputed as the beſt for making ſails; but they manufacture at preſent a good ſort almoſt every where.

" All theſe points of knowledge are neceſſary for ſuch foreign merchants as build ſhips in Holland, that proper materials be purchaſed for the conſtruction, in the orders given to their correſpondents; alſo to national merchants, for their conduct in building well, whether on their own account, or for that of foreigners, who purchaſe them, independently of the conſtruction. Holland is always the greateſt market of Europe

rope for all ſorts of materials, and of every kind of quality, proper for the ſervice of the marine, and is at the ſame time the country where they beſt know the value of the different qualities of the materials for ſhip building. In Holland they build ſhips of any kind on the account of foreigners; and they make choice of different materials, conformable to the orders which are given them, which varies the expences of the commiſſion, proportioned to the deſire of thoſe who employ them.

" The manufacture of coloured linens, and printed cottons, has loſt prodigiouſly its former advantages. They have been too much multiplied in countries where labour is at a low price, as in France, Switzerland, and the Auſtrian Low Countries. This is a competition which it is impoſſible Holland ſhould ſuſtain.

" The city of Amſterdam poſſeſſes a manufacture, which is ſheltered from the effects of competition, at leaſt, ſhe has only that of London to fear, who, to the preſent time, has been very weak in it; and that of Anvers and Paris is ſcarce any thing: it is the cutting of diamonds. Amſterdam is the only city that poſſeſſes, in a very high degree of perfection, this art; and alſo that of re-

ducing into ſmall diamonds thoſe large ones that are degraded by black ſpots and flaws. This art is ſupported by the merchants of Amſterdam, in giving much into the commerce of rough diamonds, both in the Eaſt Indies, and Braſil; by which they fix the art among them at the firſt hand, in Europe; for independently of the diamonds, which the ſhips of the Eaſt India company bring from the Indies, we alſo ſee, at ſales in Amſterdam, the rough ones that come from London, and from Liſbon; therefore, if the commerce maintains and nouriſhes the art, it, in its turn, ſuſtains the commerce, becauſe if you would buy rough diamonds any where but at Amſterdam, you will be under the neceſſity of ſending them to Amſterdam to be cut; on her ſide, the commerce has not much to fear from the deſertion of the workmen, who could not find work elſewhere. This trade is every year an object of many millions of florins; and in this commerce, there goes in labour more than ſix florins a carrat. It is the ſame with rubies; but cutting them is infinitely eaſier, becauſe they do not require the uſe of a mill, nor that of the powder of diamonds, with which they make grindſtones. It is beſides a branch of induſtry and commerce very limited, for

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the rubies, which deſerve attention, are very rare.

"The manufactures, eſpecially thoſe of a great luxury, to which the œconomy of the Dutch will permit only a weak ſale at home, ought to ſubmit to the decline, which we have obſerved. Three cauſes have concurred to reduce them to this ſtate; the progreſs of induſtry among other nations, the decay of the commerce of Holland, and the debts of the public.

"Italy, France, Flanders, Holland, and England, have been the only induſtrious nations of Europe, and who have for a long time provided all ſorts of linens, ſtuffs of wool and ſilk, and the productions of an infinity of manufactures. Almoſt all theſe fabrics have been ſpread through a part of Germany, in the North, and even into Ruſſia. Already Ruſſia imports no more ſuperfine cloths from thoſe induſtrious nations. Denmark has flouriſhing manufactures; and Sweden does not ceaſe to make efforts for acquiring them. All nations at preſent ſeek with care, the means of perfecting the known arts, and of extending the limits of their induſtry and their commerce. There are nevertheleſs ſtill in Europe markets for moſt manufactures, but attended by a com-

petition infinitely increaſed; but this market belongs only (if we except ſome articles of particular manufactures) to thoſe who can afford to ſell at cheap prices, in conſequence of the low price of their labour.

"This competition neceſſarily hurts the markets of the manufactures which can only be ſold at an high price, and muſt in the end infallibly ruin them. This ſituation and competition the manufactures of Holland, which are produced at an high price of labour, cannot ſuſtain; and this high price has two cauſes, which it is impoſſible to remove, viz. abundance of money, which raiſes the price of all proviſions, as well as the price of labour; and the taxes, which, through the neceſſity of paying the intereſt of the public debts, have been extended to all things the moſt neceſſary to life.

"The ſcience of commerce has general maxims, which agree with all nations; and others, which, inſtead of being ſalutary in certain countries, are deſtructive. We ought, above all things, to raiſe and animate induſtry, and ſupport and extend it upon the ſame principles. But the ſituation, climate, natural productions, not being the ſame in all countries, induſtry ought to be exerted upon

upon different objects. The different branches of art, and the productions of nature, are divided to infinity; but all cannot be cultivated with the ſame ſucceſs. Almoſt all ſorts of manufactures are in France, as their natural country; moſt of the raw materials abound there; and by the care of a good adminiſtration, the merchants furniſh at reaſonable prices whatever is wanted. It is eaſy to preſerve all manufactures in a ſtate, where vaſt provinces know no other commerce than that of the culture of the earth and manufactures, or where they can carry on no other. It is this, which keeps at a diſtance the too great abundance of money, which, in rendering all the neceſſaries of life dear, infallibly ruins many manufactures by the exceſſive price of labour. England, for a long time, enjoyed the ſame advantages, when it began to looſe them by the exceſſive amount of the ſigns of wealth, much more deſtructive than real money. The Engliſh have made many efforts in vain for ſtopping the declenſion of their manufactures, while they left the exceſs of their fictitious money in exiſtence, and the taxes neceſſary for ſuſtaining their credit. The Dutch, without agriculture, (becauſe they have not land to cultivate) are occupied in banking, and the commerce of œconomy of all Europe; and though, in poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of all, that is moſt rich in the commerce of Indoſtan, China, and Japan, could preſerve their manufactures but for a moment. They adopted uſeleſsly the maxims and regulations, which ſuſtained the manufactures of France in a flouriſhing ſtate; but the abundaece of money, which their commerce of œconomy, their banking, and the Indies, brought into their circulation, together with the taxes upon the neceſſaries of life, could not allow them to preſerve their manufactures, except thoſe that are required for the maintenance of their marine, or which are ſupported by the great internal conſumption.

"Bookſelling was heretofore in a flouriſhing ſtate; we ſtill ſee in Holland great fortunes, which have had no other ſource, but this branch of commerce; and the editions of Elzevir ſhew well, that the art of printing has been carried there to the higheſt degree of perfection. This branch of commerce is at preſent extremely fallen; it neverthleſs maintains a great number of printing-houſes, principally at Amſterdam, Leyden, and the Hague; and a foundery of characters at Haerlem, which is renowned, and merits its reputation.

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"The ſuperiority gained by the book-ſellers in France, has infinitely reſtrained thoſe of Holland. There are here many diſadvantages, which will not permit the induſtry dependant on them to flouriſh greatly. Paper is dearer than in France; and the Dutch bookſellers have fewer opportunities of procuring good manuſcripts than the French ones. Beſides, Holland not being a country of conſumption for books, the book-ſellers are obliged to make a part of their commerce by exchanges; they are, at the ſame time, more liable than any others in Europe, to receive prejudice from counterfeits; a ſpecies of robbery which deſolates their commerce, and is the more fatal, as there is no other means for preventing this abuſe than the weak reſources of the arts of commerce; and yet they pay upon their books a duty on exportation and importation of four per cent. But the ſtate of this branch of commerce demands a total exemption.

"The reſource of this trade in Holland is in the fairs of Leipſick, of which books make the principal riches. It is there that the editions of Holland find their greatest conſumption. Leipſick is an immenſe magazine of books. All the booksellers

Europe trade, during the fairs, in perſon, or by commiſſion, if we except thoſe of France and England, who, having at home a great conſumption, attend little to the commerce at Leipſick. Bookſellers there find ſome times the ſale of entire editions; they make exchanges, and many ſales, for which they give credit from one fair to another, that is to ſay, for ſix months. At each fair accounts are ſettled, and every bookſeller opens new accounts to be ſettled at the ſucceeding one. There is perhaps no branch of commerce, which is executed in a manner ſo ſimple, ſo eaſy, and with ſo much good faith.

"The actual ſituation of commerce and the arts in Europe, leave the Republic but one means of reſtoring her manufactures, or, at leaſt, of ſupporting a great number; ſhe muſt turn her eyes to her colonies in America; it is there that a ſale is opened on the moſt certain, and the happieſt grounds, for European nations to ſupport their induſtry. The Republic might infinitely multiply the conſumption of her manufactures in that part of the world, by animating their agriculture and improvements. They already make a very great conſumption of all ſorts of linens, ſmall ſtuffs, and every particular of dreſs and luxury;

luxury; and it would prove a noble encouragement, very juſt and natural, to give in the importation, which is continually made of that claſs of merchandize, the preference to thoſe which are the product of the national manufactures. It appears to be very eaſy to enſure ſuch a ſale, by a prohibitive law, which ſhould not permit the introduction into America of any article of foreign manufactures, that could poſſibly be furniſhed by the nation itſelf.

"If ſuch a law was made, the object of which appears ſo uſeful, its progreſs ought not to be interrupted by particular conſiderations, reſpecting the commerce which St. Euſtatia and Curacao might carry on with the coaſts of New Spain, or the French iſlands. This commerce, contrary to the mutual laws made between the two nations and their treaties, is unknown to the government, and cannot attract its attention, if it was propoſed as an obſtacle to a uſeful regulation, which muſt be diſcovered and rejected."

We ſhall finiſh this article with the wiſe reflexions of the grand Penſionary de Witt, which merit the attention of the government, much more at preſent than at the time when his memoirs were publiſhed. "Navigation,

" vigation, the fiſhery, commerce, and ma-
" nufactures, are the four columns of the
" ſtate, which give ſubſiſtance to moſt of
" the people, and draw into the country all
" ſorts of ſtrangers: they ought never to be
" left to languiſh, nor burthened with taxes,
" at leaſt, unleſs the neceſſity is ſo preſſing
" as to be regarded as menacing the country
" with entire ruin. Never muſt we permit
" ourſelves to carry ſuch ſtrokes at the fun-
" damental baſe of our power, but on the
" contrary, have in view the re-eſtabliſh-
" ing things upon the antient footing. We
" ſhould therefore know how to ſuppreſs the
" taxes, when the tempeſt has ceaſed, nor
" ought they ever to affect manufactures;
" becauſe theſe eſtabliſhments are common
" among our neighbours, and we are obliged
" to draw from abroad moſt of the drugs
" and materials which are neceſſary for their
" ſupport."

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Agriculture of Holland.

ALL the world knows, that huſbandry is not the great national object in Holland, but trade and manufactures. Their territory is very ſmall, on compariſon with the numbers of their people; ſo that an application to the arts and induſtry is neceſſary for procuring the inhabitants neceſſaries. The quantity of land alſo was originally under ſuch peculiar circumſtances, that the wealth, which flowed in from trade and manufactures, could alone render the practice of any huſbandry advantageous. The ſoil is of two ſorts, good and bad; and ſo unhappily ſituated was the Dutch, that the former was only to be gained and preſerved by vaſt monuments of their induſtry, the banks, which preſerve all the lower and beſt lands from being overflowed; for the higher tracts of Frizeland, Overyſſel, Guelderland, and Zutphen, contain in general a very great proportion of waſte and poor ſandy ſoils.

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This proportion is greater than commonly imagined, and was ſo when the Republic was undoubtedly in a more flouriſhing ſituation than at preſent. Davenant tells us, and in all theſe matters he is undeniable authority, that in 1688 they had 8,000,000 of Engliſh acres, which ſett with houſes and hereditaments at 4,000,000l. Now this is only ten ſhillings an acre, houſes included, in a country amazingly full of cities; and this muſt vaſtly reduce that ten ſhillings per acre, probably to ſix ſhillings, or at moſt to ſeven ſhillings, which is a very extraordinary fact, and ſhews that the ſeat of immenſe wealth, vaſt trade, and flouriſhing manufactures, though they ſecured the ſoil by banks, yet did but little in raiſing the value of land. It was ſo crowded with inhabitants, that they reckon but 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres per head; and yet the ſoil they inhabited ſett at leſs than in England or France at that time; this is a moſt curious fact, and well deſerves the attention of politicians. Numerous writers have inſiſted on the infinite benefits ariſing to land, from a great trade and flouriſhing fabrics; but this of Holland is an inſtance to ſhew, that in all theſe general ideas, there ſhould ever be a great latitude for exceptions. Upon the firſt ſtating the

propoſition,

propoſition, that a country was ſo thickly inhabited as to reckon leſs than four acres per head; and the people, the moſt wealthy in Europe, full of trade, arts, and manufactures, and infinitely induſtrious, would not any one conclude, that the ſoil muſt lett at very high rents? Certainly this would be the natural idea: what therefore is the reaſon, that land is, upon an average, of a low value, under theſe united circumſtances, which ſhould tend ſo powerfully to raiſe its price?

The caſe, I conceive, is this; land in general is very low rented; but, in particular provinces, which are fulleſt of people and and riches, it letts as high as any where in Europe: the ſmall extent of the whole dominion is no objection to this fact; the people at large are affected by circumſtances, which have no connection with their internal agriculture. It has always been the policy of Holland, to have in conſtant ſtore immenſe quantities of corn in magazines, which they buy when the prices are low at Dantzick and London. They import much of the proviſions of Ireland, ſalted beef and butter in particular: cheeſe comes from various parts; and live cattle, in prodigious numbers, from Denmark and Holſtein. Add to this, that their fiſheries are the moſt con-

ſiderable in Europe, not only that of whales, which produces nothing for food, but herrings, cod, &c. &c. which feed amazing numbers of their people. Importations are well known to be ſo regular and great, that a famine, or even a great ſcarcity was never known in Holland, though they do not raiſe a fifth, or perhaps a tenth of the corn they eat; and in no other country, is the price of wheat ſo regular as in this.

Now it muſt be very evident, that all theſe circumſtances cannot but have ſtrong effects in lowering the prices of all land products; for every farmer in Poland and Zealand, is a rival to thoſe of Holland; no commodity raiſed by the latter, can ever be at an high price, while magazines are ſtored from abroad, whenever prices are cheap; and as the importations are very great and numerous, the products in which the Dutch huſbandmen are not rivalled, are very few. Milk, freſh butter, eggs, and butchers meat, are the only articles: cheeſe, corn of all ſorts, ſalt butter, &c. &c. are all brought from abroad. This is the reaſon that the rents and value of land in Holland are, on an average, ſo very low, but it will poſſibly admit of an enquiry, whether they do not carry their importation too far. If it be ſaid

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that land products are dear in Holland, and therefore this importation is neceſſary: I reply, that this dearneſs all ariſes from high exciſes, not an egg, or a pound of butchers meat, but what pays an exciſe, and ſome things ſeveral. This riſe of price is not to the advantage of the farmers and graziers, but all goes into the pocket of the ſtate and the retailer.

As to the rich graſs lands, which I have mentioned ſeveral times, in the courſe of my journey, they are principally in the very populous province of Holland, near great towns, or on the banks of canals; theſe lett at high rates, from ſuch of their productions ſelling at very high prices as cannot be rivalled from abroad, or any where elſe; and ſome of them are of ſuch great natural fertility, that it is alone a ſufficient cauſe.

And here I ſhould further remark, that whatever receives moſt encouragement from the ſtate, is ſure moſt to proſper, (trade being the great object in Holland) manufactures are greatly attended to, theſe have conſequently proſpered; but as to agriculture, and a landed intereſt, they make it totally ſubmit and be ſubſervient to every other; for the importation of corn, and other proviſions, is ruinous to the farmer, but is not

regarded here, becauſe an object of commerce. This conduct, I muſt obſerve, is, upon the whole, ſuitable to the ſituation and intereſts of the Republic; Nature, and a fortune almoſt as rugged, has crammed them into a neglected marſh, which nothing but an induſtry like theirs could make the habitation of an independent nation. In ſuch a ſtate, trade and navigation, fiſheries, and manufactures, could only ſupport them, and particularly aſſiſt their firſt naval expeditions againſt their old maſters the Spaniards: theſe, therefore, they wiſely engaged in with all their ſtrength and ardour; but as to agriculture, of what benefit could it principally be to a nation, that had not land enough to render themſelves thereby independent? Neceſſity drove the Hollanders to trade: but had a genius more extenſive than that of Lycurgus, or of Monteſquieu, dictated to them a choice, without recurring to neceſſity, it would have been what neceſſity drove them to. Induſtry will ever make the greateſt figure in thoſe ungrateful ſpots that deny every thing to idleneſs: a numerous people, in ſuch ſituations, muſt either be induſtrious or ſtarve: this is a principal of action ſuperior to every thing. In a word, agriculture has been ſo little thought of, or attended

attended to, that the value which ſome tracks of land in Holland have arrived at, has been owing merely to the effects of that wealth which commerce has poured in.

The great ſucceſs of the Dutch in trade, has ſet ſuch an example to the other nations of Europe, that all are equally eager in copying her; but herein there appears too great a neglect of thoſe eſſential diſtinctions, which are often found between different countries. France, England, Sweden, and Ruſſia, have very conſiderable territories, or property in land, conſequently they ought to pay a much greater attention to agriculture than this Republic, whoſe land is contemptible compared with theirs; but all theſe powers, particularly France and England, have imitated the Dutch ſo nearly as to neglect their agriculture, and in moſt caſes ſacrificed it to the intereſts of their commerce. This has certainly been very falſe politics: for that conduct, which neceſſity and wiſdom made expedient and beneficial to a territory of only eight millions of acres, might ſurely be very improper to a dominion of eighty or an hundred millions? Had the Dutch given ever ſuch attention to the improvement of their lands, they would never, by their aſſiſtance, have become a

great and powerful nation, nor even an independent one; but this is quite another matter with nations rich in extenſive territory.

An Engliſh writer of great reputation, Sir W. Petty, publiſhed a book in King Charles the Second's reign, which was at the period of the height of the Dutch power, and the purport of which was, to exhibit them as an example to his countrymen; attempting to prove, that the only way to grow great and formidable, was to be all merchants and ſailors; that a landed territory was of no uſe unleſs full of people; that Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, ſhould, if it was practicable, be ſunk in the ocean, after concentring all the inhabitants in England; all which ſentiments, and many others of the ſame ſort, were a mere paraphraſe on the fortune of this Republic; but nothing could be more erroneous than ſuch a ſyſtem, than voluntarily chooſing a ſituation, which neceſſity threw the Hollanders into: the wiſe Dutchmen, had they inherited ſuch kingdoms as England, Scotland, and Ireland, would not have purſued the ſame politics they practiſed in the marſhes of the Netherlands.

For theſe reaſons, the great landed kingdoms of Europe ſeem not fully to know their own

own intereſts, when they are ſo eager in the purſuit of trade and commerce, and manufactures for exportation, as to ſacrifice the attention to, and advancement of agriculture. It is the error of ſhort-ſighted politicians, to carry their meaſures too far: great power and great wealth, in union, may do wonders, but there is more merit and more genius in properly diſcriminating objects, and in dividing the attention among them, in proportion to their reſpective improvements, than in boldly determining to create. The employments of a people ſhould always depend on the territory they inhabit, and the nature of their purſuits ſhould be taken from the climate and ſituation. Induſtry may certainly be as active, and carry a nation to as high a pitch of power and wealth, when puſhed on upon theſe natural principles, as it is poſſible to arrive at from oppoſing nature, or from a boundleſs deſire of rendering every thing artificial. Need I obſerve, that the wealth and power, which flow from the one, can hardly fail of being as permanent as the circumſtances of the age will allow, while thoſe of the other muſt, in their nature, be precarious and ſhort-lived. But to return:

In the agriculture of Holland, the richneſs of their paſtures is to be noted, and the

great attention they give to the management of their cattle; theſe are particulars I have often mentioned. They are very fond of the culture of tobacco, and that of madder; upon which it is to be obſerved, that as the huſbandmen are rivalled, in the manner I have juſt ſet forth, whenever they raiſe the neceſſaries of life, it is not to be wondered at, that they ſhould find thoſe articles leſs advantageous than thoſe of tobacco and madder: their only deſign in cultivation, is to raiſe as much money from a given quantity of land as poſſible; and the ſtate takes no account of providing food at home for their numerous ſubjects, ſo that a man may cultivate what he pleaſes; theſe are beneficial to them, but madder, in particular, they raiſe not only enough for their own home conſumption, which in their linen and cotton manufactures is a vaſt quantity, but alſo for the manufactures of the ſame ſort throughout England; but at Marſeilles, they are rivalled by the madder imported from Turkey.

Reſpecting the waſte lands of Holland, and other parts of their huſbandry, I have given ſeveral minutes, that will tend much to explain them; but the following paſſage, from a late writer publiſhed at Amſterdam, deſerves

deſerves tranſlating. "The inland provinces, particularly thoſe of Gueldreland, the marſhes of Boiſleduc, and the Barony of Breda, preſent the obſerver with fourſcore leagues of waſte land, entirely ſuſceptible of a good improvement and culture, and of which the breaking up would be attended with the greateſt ſucceſs, if it was undertaken, and ſupported by the government on proper principles: this would be giving to the Republic the value of a new province. The detail, in which we are about to enter, authorizes us to conſider this object, as one of the moſt intereſting to the ſtate, upon which much depends the proſperity of population and commerce, and is the moſt worthy the attention and the care of adminiſtration."

These waſte lands produce, in many places, herbage in abundance, and particularly broom. There are ſome ſmall parts broken up within theſe 10, 15, or 20 years, equal at preſent in goodneſs to the neighbouring lands that have been long cultivated. The common productions of the improved lands are wood, oak, rye, oats, and Saracen wheat; and the cultivators obſerve, that five or ſix years of culture are neceſſary to make theſe new lands equal to the old ones in culture.

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All the neighbouring lands that have been long cultivated, are very light and ſandy, and of the ſame nature as thoſe that are waſte: they produce very fine rye, barley, oats, Saracen corn, clover, potatoes, carrots, turnips, and ſpurry graſs. The culture of this laſt is thoroughly known only in a part of Brabant, named Campine, in the three Guelders, and the Duchy of Cleves. In Cleves, they cut this herb, and dry it on their vine props; and it thus makes the beſt hay that is given to beaſts.

"The uſe which might be made of this plant demands an obſervation: it is a ſpecies of the white pimpernel; it throws out many ſtalks to the height of about a foot. Botaniſts, who throw it under the title of Sperguła, have obſerved, that it increaſes in the fields, corn, and graſs, principally in Flanders and in England; that cows give much milk when fed on it; and that it contains a moderate quantity of an eſſential ſalt and oil. In the Campine, the three Guelders and Cleves, they ſow the ſpurry immediately after the crop of corn. This herb, which is very fine and delicate, increaſes rapidly, and gives a very fat paſturage for cows, who they tie to ſtakes in it, and it laſts them three months. They aſſert, that this plant, whoſe verdure

verdure is like that of flax juſt come up, meliorates the land; at leaſt, it is ſtrongly averred, that it does not exhauſt it, as they have conſtantly in Guelders ſown corn on the ſame land after it. It is to this herb that they attribute the abundance and good quality of the butter of Campine: it is alſo, during the growth of this plant, that the butter of Guelders is the beſt of all Holland. Perhaps much greater advantages might be drawn from this plant, which yields ſo quickly an excellent paſturage, if it was better known. They might introduce it in the manner of the artificial graſſes upon the waſte lands, or, as permanent paſture, it might be very uſeful. But at preſent, they leave this paſture, after the crop, only till the end of October or the beginning of November, which is the time when they plough their lands for ſowing rye or other grain. They might aſſure themſelves, by obſervation and experience of greater advantages from this artificial paſture, which perhaps is not of ſo ſhort duration, were not the cultivators ignorant or indolent.

"Judgment may be made of the ſucceſs, which might reaſonably be expected from well managed improvements of waſte lands, by the example of the method of culture which is practiſed on the neighbouring lands;

lands; by obſerving the manner in which the inhabitants of villages, the moſt accuſtomed to break them up, manage from time to time their portions, and by the productions which the lands of ſuch villages yield, that have once been thus broken up. The lands which are perfectly cultivated, are never fallowed. They ſow ſpurry or turnips, and after gathering the product, throw in corn the beginning of November. The manure they employ on theſe lands is the dung of cows, turf aſhes, and the turf which they cut upon the commons, with what they make by littering their beaſts. This laſt manure is not in much eſteem, it has but a moderate effect from being ſo ill prepared. There are few examples of ſuch bad culture, as that given to moſt of theſe cultivated lands. They plough only once, half a foot deep; then they paſs over the land thus tilled, a light harrow; and to this they bound the preparation of the earth for receiving the ſeed of rye, barley, or oats, &c. They ſow no wheat, becauſe, they ſay, their lands are not ſtrong enough for it. There is however no doubt, but that theſe huſbandmen do not give the tillage, dunging, and other preparations, which are requiſite for wheat. There are ſome cantons, where the lords of the manors

nors do ſow wheat. Theſe do not give more than two ploughings to their lands, and by this ſingle preparation at moſt, get them into a better ſtate than the others. But they themſelves complain, that even this culture, imperfect as it is, is too expenſive: this complaint is owing to a want of good markets.

"The waſte lands are generally of the ſame quality as thoſe that are cultivated. Both have a depth of three or four feet, generally a grey ſand or a black one, ſoft, moiſt to the touch, and mixed with mould: culture alone makes a difference. They have neither clay nor marle, unleſs perhaps they find it at a very great depth; but they find a clayey loam in ſome places at three feet and an half. The woods are oak, fir, elm, and in ſome places beech, all which are found in the lands improved. The methods of improving, followed at preſent by the neighbouring inhabitants, conſiſt in raiſing the turf, which they carry home, either for burning or converting into manure, and afterwards ploughing the land. They limit themſelves to one ploughing, whether for ſowing corn or wood; in the laſt caſe, they leave it for eighteen or twenty years, at that age they deſtroy it, and break it up anew, when they find it conſiderably ameliorated.

It

It is thus that they treat, from time to time, ſome ſmall portions of theſe vaſt waſte countries. By this manner of breaking them up, and by the cuſtom of limiting their culture to one ſingle ploughing, the improved lands do not become equal to the cultivated ones, till kept in a courſe of management for five or ſix years: the reaſon, without doubt is, that they do not give the tillage in one year neceſſary for doing the buſineſs with effect. They know not the uſe of lucerne, nor that of ſainfoine, but only that of clover, which ſucceeds in ſome cantons. It is certain, that this land muſt be naturally very fertile, by giving its product after an improvement ſo lightly made, after a ſingle ploughing, and ſo little dung. If we only conſult the principles, which the theory of the art of agriculture preſents us, for following rigorouſly in the practice, we ſhall become tempted on the firſt inſpection of the land, to neglect it, becauſe that theory regards the claſs of ſandy ſoils as almoſt ſterile; but the ſand, which predominates here, is not the flying burning ſand that devours the ſeed committed to it, and renders uſeleſs all the efforts of the farmer, or ſuch, that if it yields at length to induſtry, it is not till after a multiplicity of manures and much expence; the ſand

of

of the waſte lands is here the ſame as that which predominates in the beſt neighbouring lands under good culture; or, to ſpeak better, the waſte ſoils and the lands, cultivated in the environs to a great diſtance, are all the ſame. Nothing but cultivation makes the difference; for in all, the ſand predominates almoſt equally. The productions which the improved lands give, by the aſſiſtance only of one ploughing, ſeem to authorize us to believe them ſuſceptible of as great fertility as the beſt lands around theſe villages. We have other proofs, that all the waſte lands do at leaſt approach them in the principles of fertility, which they contain, and are nearly equal in the compariſon with other lands, cultivated in the neighbourhood of the towns.

"The experience of wells, made in the waſte lands in different diſtricts, turns out the ſame as in fertile ſoils. But we are not limited to this ſingle experiment for ſtating the fertility of this great extent of country: an improvement of ſuch importance will not permit us to neglect any proofs of the ſucceſs which ought to attend it, if we can underſtand them. It is always an encouragement which preſents itſelf to individuals, who, by their ſituation and their fortune, are

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in a ſtate of undertaking ſome parts. It is well known, that we may aſſure ourſelves of the principles of fertility, contained in theſe ſoils, by a view of them in a lye, and alſo by calcination, and by comparing them with the lands, of whoſe fertility we are aſſured by the fruits yielded every day.

" We have tried this proof of waſte land, taken from a heath, and the ſame quantity of ſoil cultivated by the ſide of that heath, and of the ſame depth. The heath furniſhed only a poor paſturage; and its ſoil contained nothing but ſand. This ſand is black, moiſt, and humid to the touch, mixed with earth, and ſimilar to other lands in the country that are waſte. We have found always the ſame in the ſame ſuperficies to more than three feet depth; where is found a yellow and gravelly ſand. The land, by the ſide of it, in culture, is exactly the ſame, except only this difference, that the yellow and gravelly ſand is found at a foot and half of depth; and this land, which from inſpection appears to be very bad, produces every year a crop of wheat, and one of turnips, and with dunging only once in two years.

" An equal quantity of the cultivated ſoil, and of the waſte, ſeparately calcined in a violent

violent fire, and ſeparately waſhed, filtered, and evaporated, have given each a ſmall quantity of calcarious and ſaline matter. The land cultivated has given a little more of the nitrous ſalt, which is the natural effect of culture, and of what it receives from manures.

"We have alſo ſubmitted to the ſame proceſs, and made an examination of lands from waſtes taken from five different cantons, far removed from one another, and from the depth of two feet, in ſpots which appeared the leaſt fertile, and we have found the ſame quality of ſoil as in three and four feet depth.

"The land from No. 1, covered with the herb called heath, gave a greater quantity of ſalt of nitre than the reſt.

"That from No. 2, although more ſandy, and of a greyer colour, yielded the ſame reſult.

"That from No. 3 was not ſo black, ſandy, or light as No. 1 and 2, but gave more ſalt, and it crackled more when thrown upon live coals.

"The land of No. 4, on which oaks grow well, gave a vitriolic and feruginous matter, but leſs ſalt.

"That of No. 5 proved exactly the ſame as No. 2.

"All theſe lands have given more ſalt than others firſt tried, and are all at leaſt equal in goodneſs to thoſe in culture, whoſe fertility cannot be doubted.

"Although the family of the gramens is commonly extremely numerous upon waſte lands, that which infallibly announces a fertile ſoil is not found much here; the plant named erica by botaniſts, known under the name of heath, ſeems to have alone appropriated all theſe lands, at leaſt it predominates in them.

"Erica is a ſpecies of ſmall ſhrub, which throws out many ſtalks to the height of a foot or a foot and an half, hard, woody, and of a red colour, brown, or obſcure, garniſhed with ſmall leaves, rather hard and rough, but always green. Its root is woody and ſcattered in the land. This plant increaſes in waſtes and in woods, and contains much ſalt and oil, which is a proof that the land which produces it might eaſily be rendered fertile by a good culture.

"All theſe waſte lands are in general light and ſandy, a little moiſt, and ſoft to the touch. A ſoil of this nature cannot long preſerve the humidity of rains and the dew,

dew, which are the first instruments in the nutrition of plants. They want those oleaginous particles which have much influence in all fertility. These lands require dung and chalk. Such assistance, joined to that of frequent ploughings, insures fertility. These frequent ploughings must necessarily reclaim insensibly the greatest part of the land which is found mixed with sand, as being lighter. If the parts of these lands, which have been broken up from time to time, do not equal in goodness the neighbouring lands, after having been cultivated five or six years, it is only because they have given them but one ploughing a year.

"It is evident from striking proofs, that the fertility of these lands is great, and which appears from the examination of the nature of the soil, from that of their actual state, and from their various productions, rather than from the methods which have been taken in breaking up and cultivating them.

"They cultivate very badly almost all the neighbouring lands to these wastes: some, because the commodities raised have not a quick consumption, the inhabitants limiting their culture to the production of the necessaries of their subsistance; and others through

indolence, or a defect in their abilities. The inhabitants do not profit of the facility with which they might procure paſturage in abundance, and raiſe a commerce in cattle, which would much enrich them. Inſtead of planting woods, and eſtabliſhing artificial graſſes, they give into the deſtructive practice of burning only turfs cut from their heaths.

"This cuſtom is degenerated into an enormous abuſe; by carrying off turf continually, they inſenſibly convert a great extent of land to marſh. There are already great tracks flooded in winter. But this abuſe, which might be eaſily remedied, is not an obſtacle to improvements; the lands themſelves, which this abuſe has already converted into marſh, might, for the moſt part, be turned to value.

"There are no bad lands after markets are opened, and a great conſumption found. If you give this advantage to a ſoil, you will infallibly make the country rich.

"There are but two principal objections to vanquiſh for rendering this great extent of country fertile, and productive of treaſures, which are the want of markets, and the abuſe of property in theſe vaſt waſtes, which are common. Theſe two obſtacles might be

be attacked with ſucceſs; the one by the legiſlative authority, the other by a wiſe and enlightened direction.

"It is eaſy to open to all theſe lands a road to a great conſumption. Their culture ſhould be directed to the maintenance of as great a number of cattle as poſſible, eſpecially in all the diſtricts where the lands are at a diſtance from cities and navigation. Cattle tranſport themſelves at a little expence to a great diſtance; the butter and cheeſe, of which the carriage is eaſy, are among the richeſt productions in Holland; and they would furniſh a great interior conſumption, and alſo an exportation. The maintenance of cattle is one of the moſt precious branches of agriculture, and it is very eaſy to make them thrive in new improved lands, (however moderate they may be ſuppoſed) with the aſſiſtance of artificial graſſes. We may join to the keeping cattle, bees alſo, which coſt nothing but a little care, and yield a very great product in almoſt all the neighbourhood of theſe lands, where they are known to be kept; but it is in all theſe countries an article of culture, ſuſceptible of much greater perfection than is eaſy to attain to without the publication of

inſtructions, equally ſimple and eaſy to be followed in practice.*

" It is generally underſtood at preſent, that commons of a great extent are contrary to population, and to the progreſs of agriculture. It is neceſſary in certain countries to preſerve ſome parts of ſuch paſturage common, in order to favour the little farmers in facilitating their multiplication of cattle. Theſe proportions of commons ought to be reſtrained to the farmers ability of properly ſtocking them. Upon ſuch a ſyſtem, theſe commons, divided into farms, might be occupied by new families, who would

* This is a juſt obſervation, and very applicable to the waſte lands of England, Scotland, and Ireland: bees would prove of moſt high advantage, if kept upon a large ſcale, by underſtanding people; but here and there a hive at a cottager's is all that is found at preſent. The remark alſo that cattle ſhould be the great object in new improvements, is equally judicious; ſince, by their manure, they are the beſt ſupport of the farmers crops, and at the ſame time are eaſily converted to profit of whatever nature the country moſt requires, whether it poſſeſſes or not the advantages of navigation, and good roads. There is much uſe in ſtudying the hints thrown out in ſuch [illegible]rs as this; becauſe the [illegible] ideas [illegible]ors concerning their [illegible] the opinions of [illegible] preſumption tha[illegible] founded.

would, by their culture and their various works, raiſe a vaſt addition of wealth to the ſtate.

"Ought ſuch a plan to be laid aſide for any trivial objection, which men may make, authorized by the indifference with which they behold theſe vaſt countries waſte? Moſt of thoſe who know them, agree, that the ſoil equals in goodneſs that of the beſt neighbouring ones that are cultivated. We have in effect proofs too ſtriking of their fertility, and that they want nothing but hands for enriching a multitude of farmers, and the ſtate. But ſay they, we have not hands for the improvement: all our cultivators are employed in our good lands, you muſt therefore give us men to break them up.

"If the abbeys, too opulent and too numerous in the Auſtrian Provinces, who have been enriched alone by the immenſe improvements which they have antiently made, had been ſtopped by the pretended want of hands, they would have remained in the firſt indigence of their inſtitution: there would have been no inhabitants in the country which they have improved, and the cultivated lands, which they reclaimed from deſarts, would not have been peopled at this day. The number of cultivators are equally

 proportioned,

proportioned, in the moſt populous countries, to the extent of the lands in culture. The ſame objection would therefore have prevented the draining of ſome millions of acres of marſhes, which in our days have been done in Holland, and in Auſtrian and French Flanders, in Artois, Picardy, and Poitou, &c. works which demand many more hands, and greater expences than breaking up heaths. The want of hands prevented none of theſe enterprizes, ſo happy and ſo uſeful; and we may always obſerve, that the culture of the other lands never ſuffered the leaſt diminution. We might add to theſe examples that of England, of which half the territory has been broken up and ameliorated ſince the end of the laſt century; and where they prefer the treaſures of a good culture to the miſerable intereſts of immenſe commons. It is by this that that nation has ſo conſiderably augmented, in our days, her natural productions, and her territorial power. They have broken up in England lands as extenſive as what we occupy here, and many of a quality much inferior to ours; and it is principally with the aſſiſtance of artificial graſſes, that the Engliſh have inſured the ſucceſs of their improvements, and which has rendered,

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even upon ungrateful ſoils, their agriculture the moſt flouriſhing in Europe. If we cannot here impute the defect of culture to the quality of the land, ſo neither can we reaſonably attribute it to the want of cultivators.

"It is certain, that the beſt countries remain waſte, when in want of labourers, and that the leaſt fertile become abundantly rich by an aſſiduous labour; but in the one and the other caſe, it is not in the want or number of labourers that we muſt ſeek the cauſe of ſterility or abundance. We ſhall certainly find the cauſe of ſterility, either in the exceſs of taxes, or in a want of a market for the productions of the earth. The cultivator abandons his profeſſion, when he cannot procure a commodious ſubſiſtance; and that he can never find, when taxes devour the fruits of his labour, or carry off more than his ſuperfluity; nor when he cannot enjoy the fruits of his labour by an eaſy ſale of his products, to procure thoſe commodities he wants for his comfortable ſubſiſtance. The farmer, who is forced to lay up the fruits which he cannot ſell, will be unable to procure himſelf cloaths, &c. and is forced to abandon a fertile country, to go elſewhere for the neceſſaries of life. It is this which

renders

renders defart ſ certain countries, where it is ſufficient only to ſcratch the earth, in order to obtain crops in abundance. But if a market is opened in ſuch a country, and exempted from taxes, it is preſently covered cultivators. For it is with agriculture as with with manufactures, conſumption is the firſt and moſt eſſential encouragement. Induſtry then brings every thing to profit, becauſe there is an intereſt in engaging. Men multiply like the productions of the earth, in proportion to the advantages and reſources which they find in their labours.

The neighbouring farmers to the waſte land, complain generally of the want of dung; and that they are obliged to have recourſe to the turfs from the heaths, to anſwer the purpoſe, but which yields a manure of a very moderate virtue. It is the only reaſon which makes them reſtrain their culture to a ſmall quantity of land, and neglect improvements. For moſt of them agree, that their heaths broken up would be as fertile as their beſt lands, if they were able to dung them. This is the only obſtacle which oppoſes itſelf to improvements.

" The uſe of artificial graſſes would, in its conſequences, infallibly remove this obſtacle, if they were introduced upon theſe lands,

lands, which might eaſily be done by giving them an example of this huſbandry. In all this country they know no other ſort but ſpurry; and in a few parts clover. We have found, that ſpurry is limited to the yielding paſturage for about three months. In regard to clover, they bound themſelves to the quantity they can ſow with wheat or oats, and are abſolutely ignorant of the uſe of lucerne and ſaintfoin, which yield abundance of food, which laſt at leaſt five or ſix years, and which will not fail ſucceeding in ſoils that demand only the common management in the production of all ſorts of grain. The inhabitants might, with the aſſiſtance of theſe graſſes, multiply their cattle at will, and thus find themſelves abundance of dung, with which to fertilize all their lands, as well as thoſe they break up. It would be more advantageous in cantons, where the market for corn is difficult, to turn the taſte and cares of the inhabitants to the commerce of cattle, of which the tranſport is eaſy, and the ſale always certain. This commerce would ſoon become very extended, by the eaſe with which the artificial graſſes would be increaſed. It would be eaſy to make an experiment on lucerne and ſaintfoin, of which the ſucceſs might be regarded as infallible,

fallible, being the principal ſource of abundance and riches in a great extent of country.

"Theſe graſſes, which of themſelves infinitely ameliorate, by their duration of ſome years, the lands upon which they are ſown, give an excellent nouriſhment to cattle during winter; and the lands ſown with ſpurry, from the month of April to that of November, will furniſh abundant paſturage, and of the beſt quality, during all the ſummer.

"The neceſſary funds for the expences required in great improvements, eſpecially for inſuring the ſucceſs of them, could only be found in an aſſociation of a company. The ſimple cultivators can find hands only, and thoſe hands are uſeleſs without the funds neceſſary for buildings, for the purchaſe of cattle, ſeed, and the ſubſiſtance of the people until the time they can live upon the fruits of their labour. From the idea of the ſterility of theſe lands, conſidering their vaſt extent, we cannot hope to ſee a party joining capitals to form a company for undertaking their improvement. Nevertheleſs, if we compare an enterprize of this nature with that of a drainage, and calculate very exactly the expences and produce, we ſhall find very near the ſame advantages in the ſucceſs of one as in that of the other. But the

prejudice

prejudice is for drainages, and this prejudice will not allow them to hope for advantage from enterprizes, ſuch as would be required in the breaking up waſte lands. It is the government that ſhould give the example; and a commiſſion eſtabliſhed to employ themſelves with care, in ſearching the means of improving an extent of country ſo great and intereſting, could ſcarcely want ſucceſs. In remarking the event of ſome particular grants, and ſome modern improvements in Guelders, the country of Zutphen, in the marſh of Boiſleduc, &c. they would be convinced, that it would anſwer the ends of government to take part by offering grants, and advancing the ſums neceſſary to each farmer that demanded them, whether for the purchaſe of cattle, for buildings, for ſeed, and for ſubſiſtance till the crops were reaped, and waiting a few years for the reimburſement. It is not to be doubted, but if theſe conditions were offered to the countrymen, they would be accepted by a ſufficient number to improve all theſe waſtes.

"This propoſition is authorized by ſome examples which ought to be generally known, or, at leaſt, attract more attention than they poſſeſs at preſent. Why ſhould not the republic execute in great, what a nobleman of Holſtein

Holſtein has done in ſmall? This nobleman, an enemy to ſervitude, and a friend to mankind, gave in 1739 to a countryman, his bondman, the property of ſome waſte and deſart land. He built for him a farm, furniſhed him with moveables, with cattle, implements of tillage, and ſeed. In leſs than five years this countryman reimburſed his benefactor, and found himſelf rich. Since that epocha, the ſame nobleman has eſtabliſhed every year two ſimilar farms, which have been attended with the ſame ſucceſs. He has thus ſucceſſively carried on this eſtabliſhment to the number of thirty families, who are rendered happy, and who of a deſart have made a fertile country. If a ſingle individual, if a nobleman, who has only his private eſtate, with both lands and fortune very limited, has been able to make ſo happy an improvement, what could not be effected by a powerful ſtate, by following the ſame principles, and the ſame method? No one can deny but the ſtate might execute in great, what this nobleman has performed in ſmall with ſuch great ſucceſs.

" The waſte lands of the republic would demand the eſtabliſhment perhaps of forty thouſand families. It ſeems, at firſt ſight, that this would be an enormous expence to

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the ſtate. It might be eſtimated at fifty millions, and is certainly a great object.

"But let us for a moment ſuppoſe, that fifty thouſand families were eſtabliſhed in a ſtate of proſperity on theſe lands, and the farms in good culture, and the whole belonging to a foreign power, and that this power offered to ſell them to the republic for fifty millions, there is no perſon that can think the republic would heſitate to make the acquiſition at that price, or that half the value would be paid. By imitating the nobleman of Holſtein, the republic might gain to herſelf theſe riches much cheaper, ſince ſhe might be repaid her expences in five or ſix years, and reduce the expence to the charges of adminiſtration, and the loſs of the intereſt of the firſt expenditure."*

* Then follows the particulars of M. Ray's improvement, a more circumſtantial account of which I have given above.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Taxes of Holland.

THE amount to which taxes are carried in Holland, forms a very remarkable criterion of government. Are we to eſteem the countries where taxes are low, as the moſt free and happy; or thoſe where they are the higheſt? It is amazing that this queſtion cannot be anſwered in the manner which the firſt conſideration of it dictates; which is, that the lower the taxes the more free and happy the people. But this is not the affair: taxes run higher in ſome of the free ſtates, &c. of Europe, than in any of the abſolute monarchies; of this the country I am now writing of is a ſtrong inſtance; for in Holland, a given number of people, pay near double what the ſame number do in France; and in England, the people, though not ſo high taxed as in Holland, yet pay more than in France. This ſhews very evidently, that taxes are not inconſiſtent with liberty, and that arbitrary power is not

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able to ſqueeze out of the people ſo much as a free government gets with eaſe.

The cauſe of this will ſhew us in a full light the advantages of freedom. It is the nature of deſpotiſm to impoveriſh; taxes are carried to exceſs under an abſolute monarch, but with all their exceſs they produce but little. All lower claſſes are miſerably oppreſſed; agriculture lies under a conſtant decline; commerce is not ſo attended to as in free governments; manufactures are alſo inferior; and an irregular, oppreſſive adminiſtration on all ranks, are generally the conſequences of an arbitrary government. Theſe are all impoveriſhing circumſtances, and their effect is ſo ſtrong, that we ſee France, which is upon the whole a more flouriſhing kingdom in ſeveral of theſe particulars than moſt of the other abſolute monarchies in Europe, much more oppreſſed with paying twelve millions ſterling, than England, with not half the number of people, from paying ten, which is an enormous diſproportion. And it is to be noted, that many writers, who treat of the French commerce and manufactures, boaſt much of the flouriſhing ſtate of theſe foundations of national power; ſo that ſuppoſing commerce and manufactures to be ever ſo flouriſhing in that king-

dom, it only proves, that the cultivators of the ground and all other ranks of people are, as it were, in utter ruin; that is by far the moſt conſiderable part of the kingdom.

In Holland, England, and other free governments, taxes are laid pretty equally on all ranks of people, and proportionably to fortune or income; in which method but little or no oppreſſion can be found; but in France, &c. taxes are laid moſt unequally. All thoſe ranks that depend on the crown, are moſt partially favoured, ſuch as the nobility, clergy, men in office, ſoldiery, &c. the conſequence of which is, that all the other ranks pay as much too much as they do too little; and after this general oppreſſion, follows a particular one, which is ſufficient to cruſh all the lower claſſes: ſome of the taxes, eſpecially the Taille, are levied according to the ſuppoſed ability of every individual; and the ſuppoſition is founded on appearances. Farmers pay according to their crops, the number and goodneſs of their cattle, and the value of their implements and furniture; from which it muſt appear extremely plain, that the more they improve their lands, and the more they bring themſelves into an ability of doing eſſential ſervice to agriculture or the arts, and

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the kingdom, by ſo much more are they ſure of being oppreſſed and burthened by the load of freſh taxes; which is a ſyſtem of abſurdity and deſtruction ſufficient to ruin any nation under heaven. Hence the infinite number of beggars that diſgrace all the roads of France, and the general poverty which is ſeen among all the lower claſſes of the kingdom.

Theſe are the reaſons that taxes produce ſo little, in proportion to the number of the people, in all the arbitrary governments. Their want of a free and proper conſtitution expoſes many of the claſſes to ſuch oppreſſion, that poverty is the conſequence; and all the power and deſpotiſm upon earth cannot force wealth from a people that are poor. Whereas in republics and free governments, taxes being equal and proportionable to every man's ability of bearing them, they impoveriſh no one; and the aggregate of the people ſeem not at all oppreſſed.

The quantity of taxes which can be raiſed on a given number of people, muſt every where be proportioned to the wealth of ſuch people; conſequently, that government is capable of raiſing the greateſt ſums on its ſubjects, which takes the beſt means and moſt care to enrich them: and upon the very ſame

principle it is, that the ſums raiſed in arbitrary monarchies muſt be ſmall.

In Holland, the government is free; and though taxes are immenſe, yet the people are the moſt wealthy, upon an average, in Europe. As to the various diviſions of theſe taxes, I cannot do better than inſert the account given by the author quoted above.

"No perſon can deny the neceſſity of taxes. Whoever contributes to the expences of the State, contributes to his own welfare, to the preſervation of his fortune, and his repoſe. But if the wants of the ſociety require the imperious aid of taxes, nothing is more intereſting to the welfare of humanity, than ſearching the means of conciliating the raiſing a tax with the form of it, and the form of the collection with the intereſts of population, of agriculture, of arts, and of commerce; in one word, with the preſervation of the ſource of the tax, and with the increaſe of which that ſource is almoſt always ſuſceptible among all nations. If it is very difficult to remove arbitrary power from taxes, and to attempt a perfect equality in the repartition of them, it is not impoſſible to approach very near it, and to pleaſe the people, at leaſt with the form and the mildneſs of the collection.

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"The tax on timber, the verponden, or duty upon immoveables, the duties upon collateral ſucceſſions, upon the government bonds, upon the ſales, are very juſt; they are not burthenſome; the ſame of the duty upon domeſtics, which is laid upon the rich, and affects not induſtry, or the means of ſubſiſting the people, but very indirectly; no otherwiſe than theſe duties exciting the rich to a greater œconomy, and rather ſtraitening their conſumption.

"It is not the ſame with duties upon commerce, cuſtoms, and duties upon all articles of conſumption. The actual intereſts of commerce conſidered, relatively to the general ſituation of the commerce of Europe, and the competition which the Republic experiences at preſent, require that means be found to reconcile a reduction of theſe duties, to a moderate ſtandard, with the public wants. A diminution in the cuſtoms might be made up by a greater œconomy in the collection, by the decreaſe of many employments in collecting them, and by an attention more exact and more ſevere to frauds, and in diminiſhing the duties upon the conſumption of the neceſſaries of life; ſuch as the duties upon bread, butter, milk, potatoes, fruit, coal, turf, &c. They might

augment, perhaps, the product of the duties upon other parts of conſumption, ſo that encouragement would be given to population; and the luxurious conſumption would extend itſelf the more. They might alſo indemnify the exchequer for this diminution, by throwing them upon the conſumptions of luxury; for example, the ſtrong liquors, the beverages, above all wine, tobacco, coffee, tea, ſugar, which do not pay enough; while the other articles, without which the poor cannot ſupport themſelves, pay too much.

The duties upon conſumption are the mildeſt and moſt juſt taxes that can be made uſe of, eſpecially among a people whoſe territory is very limited, who have not many manufactures, and whoſe riches conſiſt eſſentially in a very extenſive commerce, which maintains a great population: among ſuch a nation, in all the cities that are the ſeat of its commerce; this impoſt being laid upon all conſumption, even of the neceſſaries of life, ſeems to affect neither population nor induſtry, nor commerce; becauſe population is ſupported by the commerce, which ſuſtains at the ſame time the induſtry limited to the interior parts of the country, and agriculture, by a great interior conſumption. It

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may be ſaid, that if every thing is dearer, all labour will be dearer in proportion; that all is relative and muſt balance; and that commerce pays all.

"Theſe general reflexions are ſeducing; but it is a great error to believe, that they authorize an adminiſtration to increaſe the exciſe without meaſure upon all the neceſſaries of life. This imprudence would have fatal effects, even in the cities which are the ſeat of the greateſt commerce, eſpecially if their commerce is a trade in freight, and would quickly deſtroy the greateſt advantages. It is an obſervation extremely juſt, that has been made, on the intereſts of France with her neighbours, under the name of the Marq. D'Argenſon, relative to Holland: "That in the places where the Re-"public joins upon monarchial ſtates, it "is eaſy to know the lands of the Republic "from thoſe of the monarchy, by the good "ſtate of public works; and the ſame of the "eſtates of individuals; here they are neg-"lected, but there they are flouriſhing and "in order."

The ſame author again obſerves, "that "in the provinces of Flanders and Brabant, "we ſee cities one upon another, boroughs "flouriſhing, the country well cultivated,

"every thing in abundance, every thing in "health."

"But the observator falls into a manifest error, in attributing these advantages of the lands of Holland to the republican government; and those of the lands of Flanders and Brabant, to the municipal administration. If he had carried his observation a little beyond the objects, which immediately struck his view, he would have found the taxes much more excessive than in any other country, and in many districts, the administration loaded with abuses and erroneous expences. He would have seen in some provinces, and in many cities, about half the impost dissipated in its road from the people to the coffers of the Sovereign; and he would have been astonished to see, in so great an extent of country, a flourishing agriculture, resisting for many ages a destructive administration. With more reflexion, he would have found the cause of the flourishing state of these countries only in the situation of these provinces, which, by an easy navigation, carries every thing to a certain consumption: a consumption uniformly sustained for a long time by the trade of the commercial cities of Holland. He would have seen towns carrying on commerce, or

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occupied by manufacturers, equally well peopled; but in all others, a very bounded population, ſome even in indigence, and the people only ſubſiſting by the conſumption and very limited expences of landlords and cultivators. The cities themſelves, the richeſt, as Amſterdam, Rotterdam, &c. ſenſibly impoveriſh themſelves by the exceſs of their taxes upon conſumption. Anvers, Malines, Bruſſels, Louvain, Gent, and the other cities of Brabant, and Auſtrian Flanders, are very badly peopled; they would be totally deſerted, if their population was not yet ſuſtained by the fabrication of linens and laces; for agriculture is very ſenſibly affected. All taxes which give a damp to conſumption, deſtroy the moſt active agent of agriculture and induſtry, and weaken the ſource of taxes. This is what has happened in all theſe provinces, that have much extended their duties upon the conſumption of the neceſſaries of life. It is that which happens at preſent from the ſame reaſon in England; the induſtrious workmen diſappear, and carry with them their wealth and great conſumption.

"In all countries, ſays M. Rouſſeau, a man's hands are worth more than his ſubſiſtance; but this is only true in countries

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where they are employed, and there only by general conſumption, which furniſhes at the ſame time the means of ſubſiſtance to a world of women, children, old men, invalids, and to men, in a word, who have no hands.

"Thus it is that in a great conſumption we ſee equally the ſource of a flouriſhing agriculture, a great population, and the true ſource of taxes, and the power of a ſtate. It is the maintenance of that ſource, which ought to be the true object of adminiſtration. And the free adminiſtration of one man is a ſhelter from the contradiction of perſonal intereſts, which predominate in a Republican government, and in the municipal adminiſtration, with a greater means and facility of eſtabliſhing and maintaining this ſource of public felicity.

"Nothing is more uſeful to the public than writings upon political matters, which are the moſt intereſting. Obſervations on theſe matters may give birth to an infinity of happy diſcoveries, and the greateſt progreſs of genius and arts. It is to them, the legiſlative ſpirit and the genius of adminiſtration owe the principles of the moſt uſeful regulations; for it is very clear from thence, what will make induſtry and commerce flouriſh.

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It ſeems, that the more induſtry and commerce there is among a nation, the more it is forced to multiply regulations; and ſuch is the weakneſs of the human mind, that there is no nation among whom there remains nothing in this reſpect to wiſh for. There are ſtates, where they feel without ceaſing the want of new laws, although they have multiplied laws to an exceſs, which are become a load moſt burthenſome to the people, and a great obſtacle to the progreſs of agriculture, induſtry, and commerce. There are others, which have few uſeful laws; and others, that want all to be made.

Commerce, conſidered in all its connexions, in all the combinations of its utility, is an immenſe object. If we would run through all its branches with advantage, we ought to remember, that it is impoſſible for a ſingle man to embrace all with that legiſlative ſpirit which adminiſtration requires. Thus they ought to know at will the enlightening obſervations of thoſe, who have occupied themſelves in throwing light upon all the different branches; and who would, like the Engliſh, have laws, regulations, and projects, for the improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, paſs a crucible of public contradiction. It is

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thus they might indicate the limits of prudence, and the wiſdom of legiſlation.

"It is in this point of viewing the public utility; it is upon theſe principles that we go here upon impoſts, and to examine ſome other branches, the moſt intereſting to induſtry and commerce, which have the greateſt influence upon their progreſs, and conſequently is more intereſting to a nation, who has no other ſource for her proſperity than induſtry and commerce.

"The impoſts in Holland are divided into three capital branches; the duties upon exportation and importation; and the duties on valuation, which is not under that denomination an uſeleſs title, but an additional duty upon exportation and importation. This is the firſt branch of taxes, and the only one, which is equal to all the inhabitants of the Seven Provinces, which ſpreads itſelf over all, and generally in an uniform manner; and this the States General directly order, and the produce of it is carried to the treaſury of the Republic. The two other principal branches conſiſt in duties upon weights in the provinces and cities, in duties upon conſumption, and in others, perſonal and real. Theſe two branches, whereof a part of the produce belongs to the cities, and the other

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to the provinces, are ſubdivided into an infinity of other branches, all directed by a great number of laws, different and particular to each province, and to each city. For the ſtates of the provinces, and the regency of the cities, are the legiſlators of their interior adminiſtration.

"We do not propoſe to give a table of the adminiſtration of the finances, which requires a great detail, and is foreign to our ſubject, but ſimply to offer ſome obſervations, which the utility and the advantages of manufactures and commerce demand. We owe alſo this attention to the curioſity of foreigners, who ſeek, in the knowledge of the wiſdom and œconomy of the Dutch adminiſtration, for examples uſeful to imitate.

"The laws of the cuſtoms ought to have eſſentially for their object, the favouring and encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and in general, all national induſtry, and exterior commerce. It is very difficult to make a general law univerſally wiſe and uſeful upon a matter of ſo vaſt extent, among commercial nations; becauſe, independently of the neceſſities of the finances, which demand imperiouſly of adminiſtration, duties upon commerce; the duties on exportation and importation, in general on all materials raw,

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or manufactured, which come in or go out, the progress, and even the preservation of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, do all require prohibitions, or the impositions of duties, which, in taking place, either upon importation, or upon the exportation, consist of an infinite number of articles, both raw and manufactured. France and England ought to favour the importation of all the raw materials of their manufactures, which foreigners furnish them. Both the nations should clog the exportation of the raw materials of their own produce, and also the importation of all such foreign manufactures as would be prejudicial to their own. They ought to facilitate as much as possible, the exportation of the products of their own, or their colonies growth, and of all the manufactures they do not consume; for procuring all the advantages to agriculture, which those nations cannot encourage too much in Europe and America. The burthens, which agriculture, the principal and most precious source of their commerce, obliges them to throw upon the liberty of foreign trade, and the necessity of supporting their own manufactures, or of acquiring new ones, made them imagine the resources of free ports, for remedying as much

much as poſſible the infinite inconveniences given birth to by prohibitions. Among theſe two nations, the adminiſtration of commerce is perhaps the branch of the government of the ſtate which requires continually of their miniſters the moſt attention, care, and labour.

" The adminiſtration of the commerce of Holland is infinitely leſs difficult; ſhe has none but objects of detail, ſhe has not to manage or conciliate in legiſlation ſo great a diverſity of intereſts, as ſeems a contradiction; although her commerce embraces generally whatever is in Europe, and which Europe carries on with the other quarters of the world, yet her trade is nevertheleſs of a nature wholly different from that of France and England. Theſe two nations, are upon the whole, kingdoms of agriculture, manufactures, commercial, warlike, and powerful in territory, and marine. Holland is only a warlike, maritime, and commercial nation. Its adminiſtration of commerce is leſs complicated, and its legiſlation ought to be infinitely more ſimple. Holland has not any natural productions to encourage by prohibitions on importation, nor by privileges on exportation. As much as the quantity of commodities conſumed in Holland, ſur-

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paſſes that of the productions of its ſoil, agriculture becomes one of the moſt lucrative profeſſions; ſhe can be diſcouraged or deſtroyed only by depopulation, which muſt be very conſiderable to be felt in the conſumption of the productions of ſo limited a territory.

"Almoſt all her manufactures, reduced to a ſmall interior conſumption by the dearneſs of labour, demand ſome aſſiſtance in the cuſtoms; it would be uſeleſs to undertake to revive them by prohibitions, or by exemptions. Even with this aſſiſtance, it would be impoſſible to produce them at a price low enough to withſtand the competition of foreigners; and beſides, the intereſt of the aggregate of her trade requires, that her magazines have always an equal aſſortment of her own manufactures, and thoſe of all other nations.

"We can only except the fiſhery, which we may regard as a ſort of culture natural to Holland, which is one of the moſt precious branches of national induſtry; but the induſtry, which is occupied in the building of ſhips, the whitening of linens and wax, the manufacture of ſtarch, paper, and porcelain, cannot be too much encouraged; but not by prohibitions of importation, which are contrary to the intereſts of the

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Dutch commerce, and the freighting trade; but by interior exemptions, by an exemption from the duties of exportation, and by the liberty of importation among other nations.

" Butter, and certain liquors, are almoſt the only productions of national induſtry; of which the interior conſumption ought to be enſured by duties upon importation, equivalent to a prohibition.

" The object of the cuſtoms ought therefore to be principally to favour, as much as poſſible, the importation and re-exportation of all ſorts of merchandize, and foreign commodities; and adminiſtration ought to attach itſelf to raiſing as little as poſſible, the price of merchandize and commodities imported and re-exported, for ſuſtaining the advantage in the buying and ſelling trade. This favour, which is demanded by the nature and commerce of Holland, ſeems not to require, in the laws of the cuſtoms, any diſpoſitions but what are extremely ſimple: Nevertheleſs, this law, notwithſtandſtanding the changes that have been well conducted, is yet very complicated; it embarraſſes commerce, and gives great advantages to the Hanſe-Towns, and eſpecially to thoſe of Hamburgh and Bremen, whoſe

competition acquires every day a ſuperiority, becauſe their duties upon importation and exportation are ſcarcely any thing.

"It is commonly reckoned, that the cuſtoms amount to 5 per cent. of the value of the products and merchandize, both on exported and imported in general; but an examination of theſe laws, will not permit us to make this eſtimation with preciſion.

"The duties upon importation and exportation are only one per cent at Hamburgh, and half per cent at Bremen; which naturally enſures to thoſe cities a deciſive preference among foreign merchants, on all occaſions wherein they can give a preference; and theſe occaſions preſent themſelves every day, very often in the ordinary courſe of commerce. Duties ſo moderate, invite not to fraud; they do not offer advantage enough, to engage a merchant to expoſe himſelf to the ſmalleſt riſques; and for this reaſon, they produce more money to the public treaſury, than if they were higher; but inducing traders to be fraudulent.

"There is no nation able to leave all exports and imports entirely free from all duties, and which conſequently would want no cuſtom-houſes, either for the intereſt of the finances,

finances, or for encouraging its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce: but the particular conſiderations, which would enter into the compoſition of ſuch a freed ſtate, could not be combined with too much care and attention, for conciliating at once the demands of the revenue, with the neceſſity of of preſerving agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, which are the only ſources of revenue.

The actual ſituation of the commerce of Europe, and that of Holland, which is ſo intimately connected with the reſt of Europe that it depends entirely on it, requires not only that re-exportation be exempted from all the duties of exportation, but alſo, that the duties payable on importation be returned.

If we give any attention to the markets of the preſent commerce of Europe, and the circulation of products and merchandize, we ſhall be convinced, that the profits of commerce in general are much reduced at preſent, by exceſs of competion; the induſtry of theſe nations is much greater than that of the abilities of the merchants, who muſt pay for labour, circulation, freight, or the tranſport by land; the expences of inſurance, commiſſion, wharfage, and ma-

gazines; and laſtly, for the profit of circulating the ſigns of the value. When every nation, that adds all theſe expences to the price of the merchandize, in paſſing from the firſt hand to the laſt, alſo raiſes the value by the duties which are laid on them, it muſt make them neceſſarily and quickly loſe all profit in the circulation; it muſt impoveriſh a commerce, eſpecially if it be a trade of buying and ſelling. This is a natural and infallible cauſe of a decreaſe very ſenſibly felt in the univerſality of trade, where the diſadvantages are not to be balanced by the profits made by certain individuals from ſpeculation, even with uncommon ſucceſs; for in this matter, we are only to conſider the general trade, its common and daily courſe, independant of the revolutions which take place from time to time in ſpeculative commerce; and which ought not to enter into the ſpirit and motives of the cuſtoms on exportation and importation.

"But the ſtate of the finances of the Republic, and the expences which ſhe muſt ſuſtain, will not permit the uſe of a rule, which ordains the return of the duties of importation upon re-exportation; or for freeing foreign commerce of all duties of exportation and importation, and to reduce thoſe upon

upon the entry, to the interior conſumption; but if the diminution of the public revenue, will not allow of giving ſuch an aſſiſtance to commerce, would it be impoſſible to find, in a matter ſo important, the means of giving, at preſent, that encouragement which is indiſpenſably neceſſary, without altering the revenues of the ſtate? Would it be impoſſible to form the idea and project of new rates of cuſtoms to be ſubſtituted for the preſent ones, the duties to be more moderate, the collection more eaſy and certain, to give the ſame product, and perhaps a ſuperior one, and at the ſame time to ſpread through the Dutch commerce, a part of thoſe precious advantages antiently enjoyed?

"We ſhould fall into a great error, if we regarded, in general, the exciſe upon conſumption, and upon houſes and lands, as indifferent to commerce, upon the foundation of Holland not having many manufactures to conduct; and becauſe the conſumption there is ſo ſuperior to the productions of a territory extremely limited, that it is not to be feared culture would ever be neglected on account of thoſe impoſts.

"We generally conſider the duties upon conſumption, like the impoſts, as leſs burthenſome, the moſt juſt, and the moſt equal.

This is true, if in the impoſition of the exciſe it falls upon the conſumption of the neceſſaries of life, and the ſubſtance of the people, without deſtroying induſtry, and the means of ſubſiſtance. In admitting theſe conditions, the impoſt becomes as juſt, and as little burthenſome, as any tax can be.

"The weight of this tax is laid upon the conſumption of all the neceſſaries of life, in the cities where the wealth eſſentially conſiſts in a very extended commerce, which naturally maintains a great population, and is, without doubt, the leſs ſenſible of it; but all is the dearer, all labour is dearer in proportion, but all is relative, all is balanced, and the commerce pays all.

"But though this exciſe, laid upon the conſumption of neceſſaries, in the commercial cities, is leſs burthenſome than elſewhere, it is nevertheleſs very deſtructive, eſpecially in cities where the commerce conſiſts of buying and ſelling. It cannot be conteſted, but that theſe exciſes render the neceſſaries of life much dearer to the people, and conſequently increaſe the prices of labour; and from thence, it muſt neceſſarily ariſe, that all the works, required in the ſhipping and navigation of an infinite detail, will become dear, and the maintenance of the crews equally

equally dearer; the nation muſt therefore loſe the advantages of a low freight: and it further follows, that the labour in loading and unloading merchandize, and the expences of magazinage being dearer, the commiſſions from foreigners will infallibly diminiſh and paſs to rival nations. The fiſhery becomes alſo infinitely dearer for the ſame reaſon, and much leſs uſeful to the merchants; the nation muſt therefore impoveriſh itſelf, by continual decreaſe of commerce and navigation.

"The influence of the exciſe, upon commodities of the firſt neceſſity, with reſpect to population, and the welfare of the people, is much more ſenſibly felt in cities at a diſtance from maritime commerce, where the evil has a progreſs much more rapid; there it produces a failure of all manufactures, that are not ſupported by the interior conſumption, or which cannot ſupport at home the competition of foreigners, by the ſingle effect of the dearneſs of labour, which gives too high a price to all works of induſtry; and the loſs of an induſtrious claſs of the people, by diminiſhing population and conſumption, will neceſſarily impoveriſh all the other claſſes, and weaken the ſtate. The people, who have only induſtry for

their ſupport, are become very poor in the cities of Holland at a diſtance from commerce. The decline of manufactures has already ſtopped a part of the uſual quantum of induſtry in the commerce of retale, while the traders in that branch can ſcarcely ſubſiſt; they are now too great a number. The loſs of manufactures has diminiſhed the number of purchaſers; the population alſo of cities, diſtant from maritime commerce, can hardly ſuſtain itſelf in the ſtate of mediocrity; which we ſee by the luxury and conſumption of thoſe, who live on their fortunes or rents, and of the inhabitants of the country.

"If we examine with attention the different branches of taxes, among different nations, we ſhall find, that the intereſts of general induſtry diminiſh, or are totally deſtroyed in ſome, while in others they ariſe and augment, only becauſe they fall alone upon luxury, riches, and ſuperfluities. We might find, without falling upon the means of the people's ſubſiſtance, enough to ſupport the public expences; and we might thus preſerve the ſources of the finances, and the ſtrength of the ſtate; for if we reflect well, we might ſee, that the riches of individuals, and thoſe finances, have equally their ſource

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in the induſtry of the people. The wealth, from which the ſtate ſupports her exchequer, in whatever hands it may be found, is all produced by the induſtry of the people; deſtroy this induſtry in a ſtate, and the riche of landlords, and thoſe of the proprietors of houſes and lands, as well as thoſe of commerce, become at once annihilated, and with them thoſe of the finances.

If we examine upon theſe principles the different branches of taxes in Holland, we ſhall find, that the duties upon bread, meat, milk, butter, fruits, turf, and coal, deſtroy without ceaſing the ſources of all taxes, and that they ought to be infinitely reduced, or totally ſuppreſſed. The exciſe, on the contrary, upon the commodities of luxury, might be infinitely augmented without hurting induſtry, and without giving any interruption to the means of the people's ſubſiſtance. The duties upon tobacco, tea, coffee, ſugar, cocoa, oil of olives, wines, brandies, ſtuffs, and above all the ſilks and the rich ſtuffs of foreign manufacture, are too low, and higher duties upon all theſe articles, luxury could well ſupport; there being, for the moſt part, a great conſumption of them, which would recompence very advantageouſly (without doing any

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miſchief either to commerce or any branch of national induſtry) for a great diminution, or a total ſuppreſſion of all the exciſes upon the neceſſaries of life.

"The impoſitions upon lands, houſes, mortgages, horſes, carriages of all ſorts, upon all ſorts of domeſtics, upon marriages, upon the public ſales of moveables and immoveables, in ſuppoſing the impoſition upon the footing of a juſt valuation and fine, the duty upon timber, and the rights of ſucceſſion, whether teſtamentary or *ab inteſtato*, or by the direct line of deſcent, are juſt impoſitions; they do not attack the induſtry of the people, they fall only upon wealth or ſuperfluity, and might be imitated in the whole, or in part, with great advantage by the other nations of Europe.

"It is not the ſame with the duties impoſed upon cows, whether under the name of ſalt for cow-keepers, or under other denominations, which raiſe the price of the milk, butter, and cheeſe, a precious part of the aliment of the people, and abſolute neceſſaries of life. Theſe duties may be regarded as an indirect exciſe upon milk, for the cow-keeper muſt ſell it dearer, in proportion to the tax upon cows. They do not give the ſalt to the cows; the conſumption is

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made by ſalting the butter and cheeſe, which cannot be carried to market without ſalt. By this cuſtom, the cow-keeper re-ſells his ſalt with great profit, and the tax is not burthenſome to him, becauſe the price which he has for his milk, butter, and cheeſe, throws the duty upon the conſumer.

"The duties upon conſumption raiſe the price of commodities, and this augmentation of value, may produce different effects among different nations. It is true, in general, that the duties upon conſumption are paid by the conſumers, becauſe they do not change the natural price of the commodity, which is regulated at market by the abundance or ſcarcity of money, and is more or leſs according to the demand. We ſhould not here give any attention to the expences of the proprietors, in bringing their goods to market; thoſe who are neareſt, enjoy in this reſpect, an advantage which is foreign to the tax, and in which the tax makes no difference: but it happens often, that the duties much reſtrain the conſumption, either in removing the conſumers, and leſſening their number, or in exciting them to a greater œconomy; and the defect of conſumption eſtabliſhes ſuch an abundance of the commodity, that the proprietor is forced

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to give it for a low price, though only to pay the duties upon conſumption; in this caſe, theſe taxes on conſumption are the occaſion of infinite evils. This inconvenience is not the only one to be feared in Holland; it cannot happen, that the proprietors of commodities ſhould pay no part of the duties on conſumption, becauſe the conſumption of commodities is much ſuperior to the territorial production: thus, if they would raiſe a duty, at the expence of the inhabitants of the country (who are almoſt all cow-keepers or turf-cutters, and the richeſt part of the lowet people, and, at the ſame time, the only ones that are rich, are near the maritime cities) in impoſing on the cow-keepers the tax on ſalt, and other duties upon cows, and likewiſe a ſpecies of capitation upon the turf-cutters, it is certain, that the legiſlator will miſs his ends, from theſe duties being paid by the conſumers, to whom they are very burthenſome.

Theſe taxes, as well as thoſe upon the neceſſaries of life, would not only be happily made up by an increaſed duty upon the conſumption (ſo much per cent. upon the value) of ſugars, tea, coffee, cocoa, and tobacco, and upon which there are very moderate duties at preſent; and alſo upon ſilks,

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ſtuffs, and other foreign manufactures. Theſe commodities and merchandize are ſuſceptible of a great augmentation of the duties upon importation and conſumption; and theſe duties would not hurt national induſtry nor commerce, by returning, as before obſerved, the amount of the duty upon re-exportation.

"If proportional duties were added upon the conſumption of tobacco, ſugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, oil of olives, wines, brandies, ſilks, and rich ſtuffs, which are the conſumptions of luxury, the finances would ſurely receive a produce from them, ſuperior to the amount of that which is drawn from the entire exciſe upon the neceſſaries of life, as upon bread, milk, butter, cheeſe, meat, turf, and coals.

"We may obſerve, that the countrymen, or cultivators of land, are extremely loaded with taxes in Holland, but they are nevertheleſs the claſs of people who pay the leaſt, becauſe they pay with the money of the conſumers. One is aſtoniſhed, in travelling through the province of Holland, to ſee ſo little land in the hands of the cultivators; and though the taxes are ſo high, yet the people ſo eaſy, and for the moſt part rich; ſo that a very great number are not ſeen in towns,

the towns, without having a chaise with one or two horses. The reason is very simple, those who employ themselves in the fishery, find a prodigious consumption, and, at their door, the fund of inexhaustible riches; most of them reckoning their fortunes by the ton of gold, or 10,000 florins. Those, who undertake turferies, are not poorer; the other countrymen have only milk and legumes for the object of their industry; they are all cow-keepers or gardeners, or both the one and the other; they sell the fruit of their industry very dear, and proportionably to the taxes which they pay; they have all the advantage of carrying them on canals to a great market, so that we are to regard their taxes no other than imposts laid upon the consumption of the bourgeois, and the other inhabitants of the cities. This wealth perpetuates itself among the countrymen, because they do not permit their children to quit their own profession; and this is one of the greatest sources of the Republic's strength.

But this source, this opulence of the country, suffers infinitely by the diminution of that great consumption which maintains it: but the administration should stop the progress of depopulation in the cities removed

moved from maritime commerce. We ſhould have found, that this ſource has already loſt much, if we had taken the pains to obſerve it with care. We have not, perhaps, given ſufficient attention how much the riches of a cultivating people, and that of the ſtate, depend upon the eaſy circumſtances of the inhabitants of cities; if they, who have loſt their manufactures, which leaves them but little other induſtry, and who, by their ſituation, cannot take part in maritime commerce, nor in the fiſhery, nor in the building of ſhips, are nevertheleſs obliged to pay always the ſame ſubſidies to the ſtate; it muſt neceſſarily follow, that they muſt be impoveriſhed and depopulated by ſuch impoſitions, and their weakneſs muſt have a laſting effect on their whole neighbourhood, and even upon the proſperity of cities occupied in a great commerce. It ſeems, therefore, that the general intereſt of the commercial cities, is nearly the ſame with that of the others who have no commerce, and very little induſtry, and whom they ſhould aſſiſt, by bearing a greater proportion of the public levies.

"Adminiſtration might indemnify the commercial cities, for ſuch augmentation in their ſhare of the public expences, by ſuppreſſing

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burthen of impoſts which fall upon navigation; and which alter or deſtroy a part of the natural and artificial advantages, which the navigation of Holland has upon that of other nations.

"Independantly of the freedom of the manœuvres which the Dutch know how to give their ſhips, which from thence require leſs numerous crews, independantly of their extraordinary extreme œconomy of living, of their attention in procuring freight, of having few expences from delays, and never ſailing upon ballaſt, of procuring themſelves all the materials for building at the firſt hand, and of conſtructing in the cheapeſt manner poſſible, they have the advantage enjoyed by few nations of Europe, of having a much greater number of ſeamen than their navigation, all extenſive as it is, can employ in time of peace, and which eſtabliſhes, in all their ports, a moſt happy competition for forming good crews at a low price. This claſs of people is ſo numerous, that it is pretended there were more than 25,000 Dutch ſailors employed in the Engliſh ſhips.

"This immenſe number of ſeamen, is the product of their ſmall fiſhery, which laſts all the year, more extenſive in Holland than any where elſe, as well as of the whale and

and herring fiſheries. Theſe three fiſheries do not ceaſe to raiſe and form every year a great number of ſeamen, more than their marine and commerce can employ.

"We cannot ſee without regret, in ſo wiſe an adminiſtration, all theſe happy advantages balanced by taxes. If M. de Monteſquieu had been more exactly inſtructed in the commerce and finances of Holland, he would not have ſaid, that whatever contributes to navigation is exempted from duties: he would have ſaid, on the contrary, that whatever contributes to navigation, ought to be exempted from duties; becauſe, as he very well obſerved, the œconomy of the ſtate, gives ſoul to the commerce of freight. If the tribute of it is loſt, it is recompenced in ſome meaſure by the induſtry and riches of the Republic. Here the moſt wiſe Republic would find an example, worthy of their imitation, in the adminſtration of the monarchial ſtates; for ſuch duties, M de Monteſqueieu obſerved, to be little proper for making commerce in general proſperous, and eſpecially the commerce of freight. For there is, perhaps, no monarchial ſtate, where we find real duties upon ſhips, and a ſort of capitation upon their crews.

"The duties of two and an half per cent. eſtabliſhed upon immoveables, likewiſe upon the amount of ſales, and alſo upon mortgages, are extended to all ſorts of ſhips, yatchts, and buildings, covered or uncovered, compriſing their cannon, rigging, utenſils, &c. They except from theſe duties, only the firſt letters of property, and the privileges of the builders; and the ordonnance directs, that the duty upon ſale ſhall be paid, half by the vender and half by the purchaſer; but if the purchaſer is a foregner the duty is reduced half.

"Beſides this, the ſhips pay another duty under the name of Laſt Geld. It is a tax of 5s. per laſt upon exportation, and 10s. upon importation; and the veſſel thus acquitted, remains free all the reſt of the year. It is a duty laid upon the paſſport or lettres de mer, which laſt during a year. Ships are obliged to take every year a new paſſport, and to pay new duties of five or ten ſhillings per laſt.

"We know of no other exemption from excife, in favour of navigation, than that of 10me of augmentation, in favour of bakers, who make the biſcuit for the ſhips going to ſea, for their conſumption on board.

"Salt pays five florins per ton, and 10me augmentation. That which is employed in

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ſalting herrings, and other fiſh, is exempt from this duty; but there is ſince impoſed, from a half to two ſhillings per head upon the crews, according to the different countries to which they are bound, as a duty upon their conſumption of ſalt.

"Theſe duties upon ſhips, and their conſumption, are very burthenſome to the Dutch merchants, and prejudicial to that competition which they have at preſent to ſuſtain, in the trade of buying and ſelling, and upon freight, which is the firſt baſis of it.

"In the ſyſtem of taxes, limited to theſe duties, and the exciſe upon conſumption, there are in Holland two ſorts of fortunes, and which are the moſt conſiderable in the Republic, which contribute nothing to the public expences; becauſe theſe fortunes are out of the reach of taxes. For we are not to regard as a contribution to the public charge, the duties of exciſe which are paid by merchants, and the proprietors of income in the public funds of foreign nations. The merchants pay nothing to the ſtate upon the product of the capitals which they circulate in commerce; nor the ſtock-holders upon the income which they draw from foreigners; and yet if we calculate the general revenue of the nation, we ſhall find

that theſe two are the moſt conſiderable part, perhaps two thirds of the whole.

"The public revenue of a nation is no other than a part of its general income, whereof all the branches ought to contribute to form the public revenue. And it is a moſt deſtructive evil in the form of taxation, when the richeſt branches of the general revenue contribute nothing to form the revenue of the public. Independently of the permanent injuſtice, which reſults from the inequality of the diviſion of the public duties among the citizens of the ſame ſtate, the exemption from the impoſts, enjoyed by the fortunes of merchants, and of perſons enjoying wealth in the public funds of foreign nations, throws all the burthen of the public expences upon the manufacturing people, upon indigence itſelf, and upon thoſe claſſes of people who are not able to bear it, and muſt neceſſarily be very deſtructive to the welfare of the ſtate.

"The duties upon the conſumption of luxury, principally the heavy ones, which enter only into the conſumption of the rich, ſuch as the commodities of prime quality, and the expenſive ſtuffs of foreign manufacture, are but a weak means of making the the greateſt fortunes, and the greateſt wealth

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in the ſtate, contribute in any proportion to the expences of the public; eſpecially in a country where luxury is ſo generally introduced, and where it is ſo well known how to reconcile it with the greateſt œconomy; and where, in ſpite of the efforts of the mode and of luxury, few of the rich ſpend more than a third or half of their incomes.

"Let the declaimers againſt luxury, and thoſe who complain without ceaſing among ſome nations at perſonal impoſitions, and the arbitrarineſs that accompanies them, conſider of the inconveniences which muſt reſult here, from an exemption of ſuch perſons from contributing to the public expences, who enjoy three fourths of all the fortunes of the ſtate; an exemption, the evil of which renders uſeleſs the greateſt ſources of the power of a ſtate and the induſtry of a people! It is above all things, neceſſary in a Republic, that a ſpirit and zeal for the welfare of the country, ſhould ſuggeſt the means of extending the taxes with a juſt equality, and a happy proportion, as much as poſſible; and that the weight of the public expences ſhould be laid upon all wealth, and particularly upon the greateſt wealth that exiſts in the ſtate. It cannot be improper, to ſhew by

way of example, what is done in the city of Hamburgh.

"There they make all the merchants contribute to the impoſts in proportion to their poſſeſſions; but the merchant taxes himſelf. He knows at the moment he is going to pay his tax, the wealth which he poſſeſſes, and he makes his calculation, and carries himſelf, or ſends, in a bag ſealed up, the ſum which he impoſes on himſelf, and which is received by four commiſſaries or receivers, and put, in preſence of the perſon who brings it, into a cheſt, without any one being allowed to count it. It is eaſy to perceive the reaſon of this. No perſon can be received into that city to carry on any commerce, without making oath of contributing, in conſcience, to the expences of the ſtate. We ſee clearly, that by this form of impoſt, many men, who had no regard for religion, might cheaply acquit themſelves of contributing to the public expences. Nevertheleſs the good which reſults from this form of taxation, muſt be much ſuperior to the inconveniences which may accompany it, ſince an adminiſtration, ſo wiſe as that of Hamburgh, finds the advantages of this form. If it is not the moſt ſure, it is at leaſt the moſt mild way of making unknown fortunes

tunes contribute to the expences of the ſtate; and if there reſults ſome inconveniences from this form of impoſt, they ought at leaſt to be preferred to the infinite evils produced from entire exemptions.

"The good adminiſtration of the finances, the moſt juſt and moſt exact equality in the diviſion of taxes, ought to be regarded among all nations, but eſpecially in Holland, as it is one of the greateſt and moſt important means of preſerving or increaſing commerce; and it much imports all the nations of Europe, that Holland ſhould preſerve her trade, or increaſe it, if poſſible, by new regulations, or by new efforts of national induſtry.

"The commerce of the Dutch conſiſts in buying the commodities and merchandize of the South, which they depoſit among them for making out aſſortments for the North; and the ſame from the North for the South. They have eſtabliſhed among them the beſt market in Europe, for the products of the ſoil, and the induſtry of the four parts of the word. Thus the induſtry of the Dutch conſiſts principally, and almoſt entirely, in giving a value to the induſtry of all other nations. The induſtry of the Dutch is therefore extremely uſeful to all

other nations, and it imports them infinitely to perpetuate it. It is the very nature of the trade carried on in Holland, to eſtabliſh, among all other nations, an advantageous competition in their ſales and their purchaſes; to ſell for them, with the greateſt eaſe, and at the beſt price, their ſuperfluities; and to procure them at the loweſt price, whatever they want: this conſtantly gives a new activity to their induſtry, and multiplies the means of their ſubſiſtance. This activity, which the Dutch give to the commerce and induſtry of all Europe, by their navigation, is animated and infinitely increaſed by the immenſe ſum of credit, and the ſigns of wealth which they maintain, and which they circulate without ceaſing, in all the places to which they trade. This is ſome of the moſt precious food that gives ſpirits to European induſtry. This circulation itſelf is ſo important, that if we ſuppoſed it ſuſpended for only a year, in the preſent ſituation of the commerce of Europe, all induſtry would fall into an univerſal languor; the fruits of agriculture, and the arts, would become a charge to their proprietors, and the finances of the greateſt part of the powers of Europe, would neceſſarily be affected,

fected. The general welfare of all the individuals, which compoſe the great European family, requires the moſt active circulation of commodities and merchandize. This circulation cannot be made but with the aſſiſtance of ſilver, which is the repreſentative ſign of all value; but as on one ſide, ſilver cannot circulate itſelf but with ſlowneſs, and on the other, as the ſum of money, which exiſts in Europe, cannot repreſent the tenth part of the value which agriculture and induſtry continually produce, the genius of commerce has equally ſupplied the ſlowneſs of the circulation of ſilver, and the inſufficiency of its quantity, by the ſigns of money, by ſubſtitutes, which repreſent it, where it is not; and which exactly executes all its functions. Now it is credit alone, that can produce theſe ſigns in the abundance neceſſary for giving ſo great an activity to the circulation of products and merchandize; and Holland furniſhes Europe with much more than half this credit.

"We ought to conſider likewiſe, the induſtry and the commerce of the Dutch, in another point of view of utility, yet more important.

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" The equilibrium of commerce is the object which ought moſt to occupy, at preſent, the political genius of the nations of Europe. It is by the eſtabliſhment and the preſervattion of this equilibrium, that each nation ought to take, in the ſum of the general riches of Europe, the part which naturally belongs to her ſituation, to her productions, and to her induſtry. The general intereſt of the commerce of Europe, is not only an enemy of all deſtruction, but it further requires, that each nation be induſtrious, and carry on with freedom whatever commerce ſhe can acquire. This liberty extends itſelf here to navigation and legitimate commerce between all nations, without ſtriking at the eſtabliſhments of commerce which belong to each nation in particular. It is in this, which conſiſts the equilibrium of the commerce of Europe.

" No nation is ſo much intereſted as the Dutch, in the eſtabliſhment and maintenance of this equilibrium of commerce. Connected with all the nations of the world, the nature itſelf of their commerce renders this equilibrium intereſting and neceſſary. They are, at the ſame time, a commercial nation, and a warlike and maritime power; and

and by reaſon only of this national intereſt, the other nations may regard this maritime power as one of the great reſources of Europe, for maintaining the equilibrium of commerce, and have a right to claim its aſſiſtance."

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Genius of the Dutch.

I AM very ſenſible, that it is an arduous taſk for a perſon who does not make a long reſidence in a foreign country, to pronounce upon theſe points with clearneſs and accuracy; but I ſhall not pretend to give a minute picture of the Dutch manners, on the contrary, I ſhall venture no further than attempting to trace thoſe ſtrong diſtinctions, about which I had not any doubt; and at the ſame time, minute thoſe particulars, in which the writers of the laſt age ſeem to be grown obſolete. They might be, and ſome of them certainly were competent judges, but the nation itſelf is in various circumſtances changed. Nothing is more common than to read accounts, handed down from writer to writer, who copy one another with the minuteſt attention, of nations, the originals of which, however like and juſtly drawn, are

are become as different from the preſent inhabitants of the countries, as the French are unlike the Turks.

It is true, that in all countries the climate has ſuch an effect upon the inhabitants, that ſome ſtriking and diſtinguiſhing marks will be found in their characters, in all ages. Tacitus, who was ſo deep an obſerver into men and manners, has given many touches of character in his accounts of the antient Germans, Gauls, and Belgæ, which are almoſt as applicable to the preſent French, Germans, and Dutch, as they were to the antient nations; although the invaſions of the Northern kingdoms, upon the deſtruction of the Roman Empire, made ſo total a change in all the provinces of the empire, in arts, manners, languages, opinions, and in all other circumſtances. In a word, a new people appeared in Italy, France, England, Germany, and Holland; and nothing therefore can be a ſtronger proof of the great influence of the climate of a country upon the inhabitants, than to find the preſent people of thoſe countries bear, in many particulars, a ſtriking reſemblance to the antient inhabitants.

But theſe ſtrong national characters, which form the grand diſtinctions between different nations,

nations, are not the objects, I would wiſh to expatiate on; ſince their being ſo ſtrong is alone a ſufficient proof, that the authors of preceding ages gave as juſt accounts as any in the preſent one can do. Sir William Temple has given as judicious and ſatisfactory an account of the Dutch, as they were in the laſt age, as can any where be met with of any other nation; indeed, that writer was poſſeſſed of a truer philoſophical ſpirit than moſt of the authors of his age and country. All his works are equal proofs of penetration, integrity, and reflexion.

If we form an idea of the Dutch in the laſt age from his writings, and thoſe of ſome other authors of credit, we ſhall find a people, if I may uſe the expreſſion, rather emerging out of a moſt conſummate national frugality, and beginning to enjoy the wealth which they had been heaping together for two ages: but in that gradual change, even luxury was parſimonious; it made none of thoſe haſty, gigantic ſtrides, with which it overwhelms a monarchy; its approaches were proportioned to the equality of the Republican government.

In the preſent age, the Dutch are very much changed; luxury has made as great a progreſs as it can make in any country, not under

under a monarchial government, and in which the landed eſtates are not very conſiderable. Theſe are two circumſtances neceſſary to the exiſtence of that luxurious profuſeneſs, which we ſee in the great kingdoms of Europe. A court concenters all the great and idle rich men of a nation to one ſpot; there, example and emulation become ſpurs to every article of profuſion, and all the refinements which attend great wealth, and a luxurious turn of mind, are ſure to be found; but this wealth, or at leaſt, a conſiderable part of it, muſt reſult from great eſtates; it is the poſſeſſors of them alone that can carry luxury to the higheſt pitch; moneyed men, however great their fortunes may be, ſeldom or never fly into that various round of expenſive diſſipation. It is the men of great eſtates that ſet the example, and make the reſt eager to follow them.

Several reaſons are to be aſſigned for this: men, whoſe fortunes conſiſt in money, are rarely brought up in abſolute idleneſs, in Holland ſcarcely ever; they are either in ſome trade, or ſome lucrative poſt, either of which, eſpecially the former, gives them the ideas and the practice of an œconomy, even in their extravagance, which men, born to great landed eſtates, never know: a ſmall attention

attention to any regular accounts, will, in general, keep a man from being boundleſsly profuſe; and this is ſo generally true, that a very ingenious author remarks, that landed men, in all countries, are apt to ſpend more than their incomes; whereas moneyed ones generally ſpend leſs. Another circumſtance is, that few or no poſſeſſions in money, in any country, ariſe to ſo conſiderable an amount as eſtates in land. An hundred thouſand pounds is a very great fortune in all the commercial counties of Europe to be made by trade, but it forms but a ſmall eſtate in land; and where trade raiſes one fortune much more conſiderable than that ſum, land yields twenty; from both which circumſtances it follows, that the country which does not abound with great eſtates in land, cannot well come to ſuch exceſs in luxury as that which does.

Holland is one of thoſe countries which contains no men of great landed eſtates: the moſt conſiderable part of the people are engaged in ſome trade or lucrative profeſſion: they hardly know what a landed intereſt is; ſo that the number of idle perſons that are rich, conſiſts almoſt entirely of people in office, the military, and foreigners. Hence ariſes that moderate degree of luxury, which

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is found in their principal cities, particularly the Hague, which is the principal place of expence and diſſipation. Take a view of London or Paris, and you ſee an immenſe expence, laviſhed upon foundations for every art, and every means of enjoyment. You ſee coſtly operas, ſplendid theatres, academies, exhibitions, with ſuch a variety of public diverſions, that it would puzzle an inhabitant to name them all. Every day rears new temples of pleaſure, each more coſtly than the former. But at the Hague, you ſee very little of theſe fine doings; they are expenſive in concerts and private aſſemblies; but even in theſe, the cities named above far exceed them. There is a greater expence in muſic, laviſhed at London in one ſpring in concerts, than at the Hague in two years.

Reſpecting great eſtabliſhments for the arts and theatres, and for public amuſement, great cities, which are the reſidence of a court, may naturally be ſuppoſed much to exceed the celebrated village of Holland. The one depends very much on the adminiſtration of the ſovereign power; the other, on the vaſt concourſe of people, crowded into one town, which muſt inevitably occaſion

more expenſive and numerous places of public diverſion.

And if we tranſer the enquiry from an examination of the public teſtimonies of luxury to the private ones, we ſhall find, that the Dutch are equally below the exceſs of the great capitals of the Britiſh and French monarchies. There are few marks at the Hague of the devouring profuſion of luxury, which is every day to be ſeen in private families at London and Paris. Splendid edifices, furniſhed with all the profuſeneſs of expenſive elegance; bands of domeſtics more numerous than thoſe of ſome ſovereign Prince's; liveries in which every expence of cloathing is exhauſted; tables ſpread with a profuſion of the choiceſt eatables Europe can afford; the whole world is ranſacked for coſtly wines; no expence ſpared in all the articles of dreſs, equipage, and amuſement, and alſo deep gaming; part of the year ſpent in the country upon a plan as expenſive as the very exceſs of a town life; every kind of rural improvement carried on, buildings, gardens, parks, lakes, temples, plantations, and all the variety of country amuſements. To theſe may be added, ſubſcriptions to public diverſions, patronage to the arts and learning,

learning, and an hundred other ways of exhauſting the income of an immenſe fortune.

In compariſon to ſuch a ſyſtem of luxury, it muſt be confeſſed, that neither the Hague, nor any of the Dutch cities, preſent a ſimilar ſpectacle; nothing in them carries ſo profuſe, ſo luxurious a countenance; they have their luxury, but it is coloured in much milder tints; nothing ſo glaring, nothing that ſhews ſuch an immenſity of wealth: and let it ever be remembered, that the degree of luxury will ever be regulated by the quantity of money in that circulation, which is independent of neceſſaries. This diſtinction will not give a bad idea of the ſtate of luxury among the Dutch: you ſee a very different people from thoſe deſcribed by the writers of the laſt century, but you do not ſee the elegance, and expenſive profuſion of the great monarchies of Europe, which at preſent make the principal figure.

In their edifices, the people of large fortune in Holland are expenſive, but not magnificent. They build great houſes with immenſe apartments, but compared with the rooms of our Engliſh palaces, they are but barns; and more wanting in the article of fitting up and finiſhing, than can well be conceived. In the palaces of London, and

in the numerous ſeats which ornament our counties, there is to be found every exertion of taſte and magnificence, directed by the hand of wealth and liberality. In Holland, the furniture is, what in England would be called handſome, but not to be named with that which ornaments the houſes of our nobility and rich gentry: here however let me obſerve, that the national cleanlineſs of the Dutch, though by no means carried to the exceſs which the common people delight in, renders their apartments infinitely more pleaſing than thoſe which in Italy and France are ornamented in the moſt ſuperb taſte. We certainly are not ſo clean as the higheſt ranks in Holland, but the mixture of neatneſs and decoration in our houſes exceed any thing we ſee either in Holland, France, or Italy.

Thus, as far as public diverſions, eſtabliſhments of the arts, architecture, furniture, dreſs, and equipage, &c. extend, we find there is no compariſon between the great kingdoms of Europe and Holland; but it muſt not therefore be taken for granted, that all theſe things, in that country, are conducted in a mean, or totally frugal ſtile, or in the manner they were in the laſt age. On the contrary, they are all in a much more

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elegant taſte; great improvements have been made in all. A plainneſs and ſimplicity were formerly found in all theſe, and a humility, if one may ſo expreſs it, but now a ſhew and expence is ſpread through them, which ſhews, that they want nothing but the wealth to equal the greateſt exertions of our richeſt nobles.

I think the greateſt expence, conſidering the object comparatively, in which the Dutch indulge, is that of the table; for, in their entertainments, their tables are ſpread in a moſt elegant and plenteous manner, and their wines are much more numerous than are common in France or England, with perſons of equal fortune, or even of ſuperior ones; and this I take to be their principal expence. I have often ſeen four courſes, and a moſt rich deſert, at the tables of perſons whoſe income does not exceed four thouſand pounds a year Engliſh: and let me remark, that their courſes are not like ours, of eight or ten diſhes each for a moderate company, but of twenty-five or thirty. Plate is more common at the Hague than would eaſily be ſuppoſed; for many of their rich nobility, and others retired from buſineſs, or from office, eat off very ſuperb ſervices.

The number of their domeſtics is not, in general, equal to thoſe of perſons of ſimilar fortune in France or England. In the latter country, we have within theſe few years diſcontinued the abominable cuſtom of ſuffering them to receive vails from our company; but in France the cuſtom yet continues, and more ſtill in Holland; at a ſingle dinner, I have feed no leſs than ſeven attendants.

They make great feaſts in Holland upon certain occaſions, ſuch as weddings, the birth of a ſon and heir, the arrival of a ſon or friend from the East Indies, &c. in which they exhauſt every ſpecies of luxury their fortunes will allow them to indulge in. I was preſent at one of theſe feaſts at Amſterdam, where I believe eight tables were four times covered, and each courſe above an hundred diſhes.

In England, people of conſiderable fortunes are much divided between the town and the country; their houſe at London, and their ſeat in one of the counties, form almoſt a contraſt; yet great expence is laviſhed in both. Great improvements in rural beauties are made; the whole neighbourhood ornamented; fine roads conſtructed at a private expence, or from a private attention with

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ſupporting the figure of their anceſtors, that have reſided there for ages, with provincial hoſpitality, mixed in this age with much politeneſs, altogether form a ſyſtem of living totally unknown in France: and in Holland, the cuſtom is neither ſo extenſive, ſo beneficial, or ſo magnificent. Country ſeats there are all compact ſnug boxes, with hardly any appearance of command or territory about them; much reſembling, in that reſpect, the houſes our London citizens erected twenty miles round the capital. They are all neat, ſmall, and with gardens of no extent, but with much clipt regularity; every thing in the taſte which England knew fifty years ago, but not quite ſo expenſive. They have too many fountains in them, which is as prepoſterous in their cold, damp country, as they are agreeable in the ſultry climes of Spain or Italy.

Relative to the accompliſhments and education of youth, the Dutch have followed the French pretty attentively, though with variations that are ſenſible. The education of young men conſiſts in their colleges, and then foreign travel, under German tutors: on their return home, they either gain ſome honourable and lucrative poſt, or enter into the army, or go into foreign ſervice, or live

at home upon their own income; these are their young nobility, or other persons of large independent fortune; but the inferior ranks are all very fond of sending their children to some of their own universities, though but for a year or two; and rather to boast of it, than for any real advantage. The number of men in counting houses, that have had what they call a learned education is very great, but then it should be remembered, that their universities being antient, were regulated upon the frugal ideas of their ancestors; there is not that variety of dissipation and expence, which is the disgrace and bane of those of Oxford and Cambridge: a young man, designed for trade, may be ventured to Leyden or Utrecht, without other danger than giving him such a relish for literature, as to induce him afterwards in the counting-house to think of other books than the journal and ledger; but at our universities, the man who designs his son for a merchant, had better hang him than send him to them: he acquires such a taste of extravagance, as to be utterly unfit ever after for the prudence and economy of trade; nor is this all, for the morals of the youth are incomparably purer at the Dutch universities, than the English ones;

ones; which, I muſt own, are little better than ſeminaries of vice.

It is aſtoniſhing, that a new ſyſtem is not introduced in England, for educating ſuch youth as are not deſigned for fine gentlemen; for the ſons of thoſe parents who wiſh to preſerve the morals of their children, as well as their Latin and Greek. The preſent method is diametrically contrary to it; one of the principal ſchools in the kingdom is in the capital, and the boys lodged at private houſes; and this is an early introduction to all the vice of London. Inſtead of this, I would have a ſchool in as ſolitary a place as poſſible; never in a town, or even in a great village, but in a retired ſpot, to keep them from the miſchiefs which the capital every moment preſents to their age. It is talking very extravagantly to ſay, that as the boy muſt afterwards live in the world, he therefore ſhould experience it from the beginning; becauſe his gaining a knowledge of the villainies practiſed in that low life, to which children naturally run for amuſement, can never be of any utility to them in the world; nor do I know of any advantages gained, from his being p——d by twelve years old. The ſame rule ſhould be followed at College; inſtead of crowding them all together

gether, and forming a great town, I would have them ſingle, and in the country: one ſtrong advantage of this would be, the taking from their eyes conſtant examples of extravagance and expence, which all the neighbouring Colleges muſt exhibit; and which will generally be in proportion to the number of them, and the ſize of the town in which they are ſituated. Youth at College ſhould ſpend their time in ſtudy and recreation; but what recreation proper for them does a town yield? Do not the adjacent fields, commons, or foreſts, exhibit a much better ſcene of amuſement, to brace their ſtrength, confirm their health, and keep them active and lively?

For young men, whether educated at College or in private, Holland abounds with numerous maſters, who teach the polite exerciſes, ſuch as the French tongue, dancing, fencing, muſic, and the living languages, all which are eaſily learned at the Hague, and ſeveral of their cities; and they are in general fond of theſe accompliſhments. Their daughters are moſt aſſiduouſly educated in them, even with more attention, I think, fortune conſidered, than in England. All the women in Holland, of any faſhion, dreſs, talk,

talk, and affect very much the manners of the French.

It is a great miſtake to ſuppoſe, that in this trading Republic, whoſe people have ſo long been famous for their frugality and modeſty, a knowledge and acquaintance with all thoſe embelliſhments of life, which luxury has ſpread through Europe, is wanting. On the contrary, tho' the Dutch are almoſt entirely changed, their frugality is yet more national than any where elſe; but it is confined to the lower claſſes, or to people of ſmall fortune; but among the ſuperior ranks, and the rich, I know hardly any country where they ſpend their money more freely to paſs their time agreeably, and enjoy whatever their rank and fortune entitles them to. You ſee every where good houſes, well furniſhed; plentiful and elegant tables kept, numerous ſervants, equipages as common as elſewhere, rich dreſſes, with ſome public diverſions; and in the education of their children no expence ſpared. In a word, you view not only all the conveniencies of life, but thoſe improvements, thoſe refinements, which rich and luxurious ages only know.

Reſpecting the temper and diſpoſition of the people, I ſhall not, by any means pretend

tend to analyſe them. It is at leaſt an invidious taſk, even in travellers who reſide long in a country, and much more ſo in one that makes ſo ſhort a ſtay: I ſhall therefore only remark, that I obſerved a great variety of character, and, at which I am not ſurpriſed; for the vaſt number of foreigners of all nations and ranks, who reſide in Holland, muſt certainly take off much from the appearance of the uniformity of national character. However, the Dutch are certainly a valuable people, and in general, poſſeſſing as many good qualities as any of their neighbours. They are friendly and ſincere, and the better ranks have a politeneſs and an unaffected eaſe, which render them very agreeable. No where are to be found more learned men, or ſuch as have ſeen more of the world, and fixed at laſt in Holland. Literature is much cultivated, and the preſſes of this country are amazingly numerous, for they print editions of all the capital books, (and many others) that are printed in France, Germany, Italy, or England; and though it is often done with views of exportation and trade, yet it ſerves to ſpread a general knowledge and taſte for literature and the ſciences.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Conſiderations on the Preſent State of the Power, &c. of the Republic, and her Connexions with the other Nations of Europe.

SIR William Temple remarked, more than a century ago, that the Dutch had paſſed the meridian of their trade; and from the events of the laſt fifty years, nothing is more evident than the declenſion of their power. In the middle of the laſt century, they were a match at ſea for the combined fleets of France and England; but in the ſucceſſive war, their navy was much ſunk; and in that of 1741, their maritime force was not comparable to that of England. At preſent, it is quite ſunk, if we conſider it as the fleet of the Republic, which, joined with England, was called a maritime power. That they have a fleet cannot be denied, but the ſhips are very few in number, in very bad order, and ſcarcely any force ready for real ſervice; ſo that we may ſafely ſpeak of it, as an annihilated marine. It is true, they have

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vaſt numbers of ſailors; but theſe alone do not conſtitute a force at ſea: ſhips, regularly building in ſucceſſion, and kept in excellent order, ſtores, magazines, yards, docks, timber, and an hundred other articles, all different from what trade employs, are neceſſary, and muſt be kept regularly, or a powerful fleet will never be conſtituted. The marine of England coſts an immenſe annual ſum, and yet the beſt judges of it aſſert, we are much too ſparing in our expences in it; but in Holland, the expence of the navy is ſo retrenched and curtailed, that it is hardly an object in the finances.

This neglect of their marine is a moſt impolitic conduct in the Dutch; for a trading power to rely more on its land forces, than on its navy, is ſuch an infatuation, that nothing but a very favourable complection of affairs among its neighbours, can prevent extreme ill conſequences following. During the laſt war, the Dutch were driven into an open violation of their treaties with England, by refuſing to ſend the ſuccours agreed on by treaty, in caſe of a threatened invaſion of Britain by France. The Republic depends on the force of her land troops, and yet is governed by French councils; not from affection, but through fear.

fear. France has little to fear from her anger, and therefore bullies her without ceremony; but this would not be the caſe, if Holland was poſſeſſed of a formidable marine; ſhe would treat the Republic with more reſpect, if an hundred ſail of the line of Dutch ſhips could, at at a ſhort warning, be added to the fleets of England.

The Dutch army has generally proved inſufficient for their defence in a land war, whereas their fleets have, more than once, brought them off in triumph, and concluded their quarrels to their advantage. Their very being depends on the proſperity of their trade, and of what avail are their armies in defence of that? In the invaſion of 1672, when the proud monarch of France kept his court at Utrecht, their army was of very little conſequence; but at that dangerous criſis, it was not ſo with their fleet; the Dutch were maſters at ſea, or, at leaſt, ſafe from great dangers. France had no force to oppoſe them on that element, whereon all trade is carried on.

But let us look to future events, againſt whom can Holland ever want to arm? Certainly againſt none but landed enemies or naval ones: probably, againſt either England, through a jealouſy of trade, and the domineering

domineering diſpoſition of France; or againſt France, through the ſolicitations of England, or the impoſſibility of complying with the demands of France. In either of theſe caſes, the Republic would find that ſtrength by ſea would be of the moſt uſe to her. Of what avail would her army be againſt England? In the preſent condition of her navy, ſhe would be utterly ruined by the ſhipping of Britain, that is, ſhe would have all her trade deſtroyed, and would probably loſe ſome of her colonies and ſettlements, at leaſt ſuffer immenſe loſſes. In caſe of a war with France, her treaſures, joined with thoſe of England, would be able to defend her by land, through the aſſiſtance of the mercenary forces, and her fleets might be let looſe on the French trade and ſettlements, to their deſtruction, if they joined an hundred ſail of the line to the marine of England; and which, in good politicks, they ought to be able to do, their vaſt trade conſidered.

But in anſwer to all this, it is ſaid, and in part juſtly, that that the revenues of Holland are ſo deeply mortgaged, that their government is abſolutely precluded from all expenſive undertakings; and that, as to a renovation of their marine, to any effectual

tual purpoſe, it is a buſineſs much beyond their power: there is ſome truth in this, but not to ſo great a degree as aſſerted by many perſons who make uſe of the argument. The arrangement of the ſtate expences is not formed according to the real intereſt of the country; their army, on compariſon with their navy, is too great; and there is a negligence and intereſtedneſs crept into their finances, which cramps them in all their operations. It is the opinion of many very ſenſible, as well as candid perſons among them, that if their navy was once more the principal object of their attention, with a ſpirited, active, and diſintereſted adminiſtration, that their ſtate would have it well in their power to reſtore their marine, if not to ſo high a pitch of proſperity as in the middle of the laſt century, at leaſt, to be extremely formidable to the combined fleets of France and Spain, and reſpectable even to the potent marine of England.

Conſidering how natural a naval force is to ſo great a trading power, I do not think this opinion has any thing extravagant in it. Their finances well managed, would allow it, and at the ſame time, keep a reſpectable body of troops in pay, but upon a reformed ſyſtem. It is true, the Republic is much in

debt, but then they have a cuſtom (which would at once overturn our public credit) of taxing the principal and the intereſt too; but the grand object in ſuch exertions is favourable to them; the expending a great part of their revenue, in the channel moſt conſiſtent with their real intereſts, and according to the inclinations and the wiſhes of their ſubjects; money generally goes very far, and is well ſpent, when it is done under ſuch circumſtances.

France has had a remarkable prevalence in the councils of the Republic ſince the laſt campaign of Counts Saxe and Lowendahl. This has been evidently owing to a fear of being over-run by the armies of that monarchy; but ſuch a radical fear, which is like a dubious exiſtence, ſhould be ſhook off by a ſovereign ſtate; for a dependance on the will of a neighbour is miſerable politics, and little leſs than being ſubject to it. If any power is great enough to demand this attention, it approaches ſo near to an abſolute ſubjection, that any meaſure is preferable: the exiſtence of ſuch a formidable power, is argument ſufficient to oppoſe it, and endeavour to reduce it, by alliances and military opperations, to a condition leſs haughty. This was the wiſe conduct of the

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Dutch, through the latter half of the preceeding century, and the beginning of the present; a time when France was more powerful than at present; and the great success, which attended the plan, was proof sufficient of its propriety.

The sovereignty of Holland depends extremely on the power of France being kept within such limits, as to prevent her from giving umbrage to any of her neighbours. A kingdom that keeps a neighbouring state in check, and governs her councils, is too powerful for such state; and a submission or acquiescence in her [illegible] only increases the disease; an immediate, bold, and [illegible] opposition, is the only effectual remedy. This the Dutch found so effectual against Louis XIV. [illegible] the height of his power [illegible] they [illegible] against [illegible]

[illegible]

from France; but this is only a ſuperficial argument, it has nothing real in it: they muſt know very little of the trade of Europe, who aſſert, that the growth of the Britiſh commerce is proportioned or occaſioned by the decline of that of Holland. The great increaſe of commerce in England, ariſes almoſt totally from her colonies and ſettlements, in which ſhe by no means rivals the Dutch; even in the Eaſt Indies, the great growth of her company has nothing in it detrimental to that of Holland. The real rivals of the Dutch in trade are, Firſt, the general ſpirit of commerce, lately diffuſed through all the countries of Europe, and which has deſtroyed much of her carrying trade. Secondly, the riſe and increaſe of commerce at Hamburgh, and the Hanſe-Towns, and, in general, among the northern kingdoms, who, in many articles, underſell the Dutch in their own trade. Theſe are the cauſes which have operated moſt againſt them, and not the competition of England, any more than that of all their other neighbours. The vaſt commerce once carried on by Holland, was infinitely owing to the negligence and backwardneſs in trade of all the other nations in Europe: while they were the carriers, and had the commiſſions of all Europe;

rope; while Amſterdam was the only great general magazine in the world, no wonder their nation grew great by trade; and it is as little ſurprizing, that, after their neighbours have found out their intereſts better, their great commerce ſhould decline.

England, therefore, is by no means their rival in trade, ſince the proſperity of her commerce ariſes from ſources extremely different from any that ever flowed in favour of the Dutch; to oppoſe that neighbour, therefore, by ſubmitting to the imperial dictates of France, can never be for the true intereſt of their country. France, by land, is much more than a rival to them; ſhe threatens their very exiſtence as an independant ſtate: it is not by negotiation, that ſhe brings them into her meaſures, but by the terror of her encampments. This is inconſiſtent with the freedom of the Republic; and an acquieſcence with ſuch violent requeſts, will, by degrees, pave the way for more minute commands.

As to the proſpects in future of the Republic, they are not difficult to conjecture at, for they are ſolely dependant on her trade. The country of the Seven Provinces is too poor and inconſiderable to ſupport the people, much leſs to maintain their power

and independance; all reflections, therefore, on the duration of their Republic, muſt turn on that of their commerce. As to the events of military opperations, they muſt be thrown out of the queſtion; not that there is any, even the leaſt probability of her fate being decided by them, whether ſhe continues abſolutely neuter, or oppoſes that of France; for that monarchy is now ſunk too low to create any longer in her neighbours any fears about their independency, provided they follow the dictates of their intereſt in oppoſing her.

I cannot agree with thoſe writers, who predict an early downfall of the Dutch commerce. I think, on the contrary, that it may continue in the degree it is in at preſent, for ſome ages; and my reaſons for thinking ſo, are as follow: They have, for ſome years, ſtood the oppoſition of as ſevere a competion as can ever happen to them. For twenty or thirty years paſt, all Europe has been eager to get as much trade and manufactures as poſſible; the commerce of England has riſen to a pitch beyond which it can ſcarcely mount much higher; that of France has certainly ſeen its moſt flouriſhing days; for thoſe, who are beſt acquainted with the manufactures of the French, aſſert, that

that they are much declined, and that they can never arrive at the proſperity which they once enjoyed. Now neither of the nations which, Holland excepted, poſſeſs the greateſt trade of Europe, have ever been able, in their moſt proſperous days, to ſucceed the Dutch in their carrying trade: their commerce has been all of a different nature; that people, conſequently, can have no fears in future, of the rivalſhip of a declining commerce. Hamburgh and the north do them ſome miſchief by carrying on that commerce for themſelves, which formerly the Dutch executed for them; but as to their gaining a ſuperiority in their general trade, it was never dreamed of; and as to the other powers of Europe, they are of no conſequence in the enquiry.

Thus we find, that the general rivalſhip of the Dutch, has conſiſted in little more than their neighbours buying and ſelling of one another, inſtead of letting the Dutch navigation come in between; this they have ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to do, and have, in part, ſucceeded in: but take a view of the commerce of Holland, and you will ſee, that even in this age, while all the powers of Europe have been ſo eager in matters of trade, that the Dutch, though they have ſuffered much, are by no means

driven to the wall; even in this point, the buying and ſelling trade, they poſſeſs at preſent much more than all the reſt of Europe put together. So difficult is it, without very great changes in war or politicks, to overturn an eſtabliſhed trade. The advantages of great ſtocks, experience, plenty of ſhipping, and numerous manufactures, will drive on a trade, when almoſt every other circumſtance ſeems adverſe.

But the buying and ſelling trade is not the moſt material part of the Dutch commerce, their fiſheries are of much more importance; and in theſe, they are, comparatively ſpeaking, without a rival; theſe bring in immenſe riches to the ſtate, ſupport a vaſt population, and provide a certain and independent market for very many of the beſt manufactures in Holland. Beſides this material branch of trade, they poſſeſs another, in which they are totally unrivalled, and which is an eſſential part of their Eaſt India commerce, the ſpices. In the Weſt Indies, they have ſome flouriſhing colonies, and in the Terra Auſtralis Incognita, they have a ſheet anchor to avail themſelves of, when all other reſources fail. The mention of this great unknown continent, reminds

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me of a few obſervations which ſhould not be omitted.

I made ſeveral enquiries at Amſterdam, concerning the general ideas in Holland of that continent, and what was ſuppoſed to be the national plan with relation to it. I found the Dutch univerſally eſteemed it, as belonging entirely to themſelves, but ſeemed, at the ſame time, to admit, that other powers had pretenſions to parts, which might prevent them from openly making good their claim. Parts of this country, they eſteem a national object, of more importance than any other; and I found, they think it better known by the government of their Eaſt India company, and conſequently by the States General, than by any other adminiſtration in Europe. Much intelligence they ſeem to have received, concerning the preſent ſtate, quite unknown to the reſt of the world. Certainly there have been, even within theſe ten years, ſeveral ſhips ſent from Batavia on diſcoveries, which have eſcaped the buſy Gazette politicians throughout Europe. The event of the diſcoveries was kept, in general, as ſecret as poſſible, under the maſk of giving out, that nothing of moment was ſeen or diſcovered, and a pretended regret at an uſeleſs expence: of this,

this, however, ſome ſailors gave very different accounts, and ſeveral circumſtances were whiſpered in India, which ſeemed to ſpeak the diſcovery of ſeveral iſlands of immenſe extent, very populous in inoffenſive ſavages, and perfectly rich and fertile; and what much confirmed theſe reports, was the diſpatch of other ſhips, which did not carry the appearance of regretting the expence of the firſt.

Upon the whole, it is ſuppoſed, that the company has diſcovered ſeveral tracks of infinite importance, not only to trade, but for colonization, and which may turn out of amazing conſequence to Holland, in caſe it is ever found neceſſary to have recourſe to new objects to ſupport the trade and commerce of that Republic: it is ſuppoſed, that the company have acted, in the whole affair, under the direction of the government; and that the particulars will be kept ſecret, till a proper uſe can be made of ſuch diſcoveries.

It has been a matter acknowledged by the beſt voyage writers, geographers, and hiſtorians, that the exiſtence of a great ſouthern continent, or many vaſt iſlands, as large as the continent, could not be diſputed; and we have been informed alſo, from the

minutes

minutes of various circumnavigators, that the productions of ſome parts of thoſe vaſt tracks, were as rich as thoſe of any other part of the world. This indeed is perfectly conſiſtent with reaſon; for a country that extends almoſt to the line, muſt be poſſeſſed of all thoſe rich productions, common to ſimilar latitudes: is it not therefore amazing, that other powers of Europe, who are at preſent ſo warm in the ſtruggle for trade, ſhould not have thought of eſtabliſhing colonies or ſettlements in ſome of theſe unknown regions? Many tracks of theſe ſouthern countries may, probably, contain ſuch rich commodities, and would admit of the cultivation of ſuch valuable productions, as might be of more importance in a ſettlement, than twenty of thoſe little objects in Europe about which we are ſo ſolicitous; nor can we reflect on the forbearance of the Dutch without ſurprize. On what principal is it? Upon what plan do they conduct themſelves? To what end do they point? Why do they neglect theſe great diſcoveries, till they meet with ſuch misfortunes, that they muſt be looked on as a dernier reſource? Is a nation in ſuch a ſituation able to make uſe of, or to defend new acquiſitions?

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It much imports the Dutch to reflect, that their Republic aroſe to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, in the midſt of the moſt adventurous expeditions. While they were involved at home in the miſeries of perpetual quarrels, and defending themſelves in a long war againſt their old maſters, the Spaniards, they ventured into diſtant regions and unknown ſeas; they made numerous diſcoveries, and many conqueſts in the Eaſt Indies, laying the foundation of that power, which has ſince ſo much ſurprized all the powers of the Eaſt. At a time when it was thought impoſſible for them to defend themſelves, they adventured upon a thouſand hazardous expeditions. It was an age of enterprize and heroiſm; while all this ſeeming extravagance continued, their Republic flouriſhed in an unexampled manner; trade was perpetually upon the increaſe, nothing could ſatisfy the ſpirit of their induſtry; while a commerce was riſing, which much exceeded that of the greateſt kingdoms, they were not ſatisfied, but adventured further, and undertook a number of important expeditions, which, in this age, would carry the appearance of romance. It was this ſpirit of enterprize that laid the foundation of all their trade in the Eaſt Indies; and let it ever be remembered,

that

that ſtom the time it died, their commerce declined.

While they were upon the increaſe in trade and proſperity, they never conſidered whether they had trade enough; on the contrary, they ever ſought after more, and adventured boldly in queſt of it. It was this ſpirit that created trade. But ſince they have been upon the decline, and have been guided by poorer ideas, we have ſeen none of this ſpirit exerted; but in proportion as their commerce has fallen, they have been careful to ſmother all ſuch enterprizing ſpirits; to damp the noble ardour, which fired the founders of their Republic, and to reſt fully ſatisfied with what a more ignoble fate decreed them. They have, for more than an age, been well ſatisfied with that degree of trade which their neighbours, in the ordinary courſe of buſineſs, left them. It was therefore very plain, that they would make no advances; for thoſe who are willing to ſtand ſtill, are not likely to puſh beyond mediocrity. If their principles were juſt, upon which they firſt neglected the proſecution of enterprizes, and the diſcoveries of new ſources of trade, they ought immediately to have reſtored that animating ſpirit when they found themſelves on the decline,

which

which is more than an hundred years ago. The moment that ſuch a ſuſpicion broke forth, they ſhould have rouſed the latent ardour, which once carried them to enterprize and conqueſt. Then was their time for making every effort of this kind to raiſe new ſources of trade, to anſwer thoſe which the competition among their neighbours in Europe began to undermine.

Nothing can be more contrary to the ſpirit of enterprize and diſcovery, than the pacific diſpoſition of the Dutch for many years laſt paſt. I will venture to ſay, that nothing is more contrary to the genius of trade. Their commerce aroſe and flouriſhed in the midſt of inceſſant war; it falls in the midſt of perpetual peace. Diſcoveries, of the nature which I have been mentioning, might reſtore it to its original proſperity. The preſent markets for Dutch manufactures, are every where hurt by the competition of their neighbours; but in the populous regions of the South, new ones of the moſt advantageous nature might be opened, in which no rival ſhip could prejudice them. I cannot underſtand the arguments, that are uſed againſt their accepting what is ſo liberally offered them. But to return:

All

All theſe articles of trade, of which the Republic is yet in a flouriſhing poſſeſſion, appear to be ſufficient to inſure her againſt that ruin, which ſome authors are ſo ready to denounce. They do not properly conſider the importance of that eſtabliſhed induſtry which is found in Holland: nothing is more difficult than to oppoſe and rival a nation, long fixed and eſtabliſhed in all the articles that conſtitute a great trade. The ſeveral advantages which I have juſt named, all unite to favour, in an high degree, the general commerce of Holland, by filling the national magazines with a variety of commodities no where elſe to be had; this gives her an advantage, in the preparing aſſortments of all commodities, well known by the nations long in trade. It is of the nature of the trade, carried on by the European companies in the Eaſt Indies, in which the Dutch have a great advantage from the monopoly of ſpices; this gives them a ſuperiority to other people in every article they deal in.

Another great advantage to Holland, is the nature of the countries which may be reckoned their principal rivals in trade. England and France are fertile and extenſive kingdoms, which have an object of much

greater

greater importance than commerce, which is agriculture; and of courſe, they cannot give that entire attention to the concerns of trade, which laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic. Inhabiting a miſerable, neglected ſpot, which almoſt ſets culture at defiance, and full of cities, towns, and villages almoſt crowded upon one another, the Dutch found themſelves under the neceſſity of applying to the ſea for a ſubſiſtance. Fiſheries and commerce, in ſuch circumſtances, throve wonderfully; the number of their ſailors increaſed amazingly; and their ports were preſently ſurrounded with docks for building ſhips; until they came to poſſeſs more of that manufacture, if it may be ſo called, than all the reſt of Europe put together. This quick progreſs was much occaſioned by the vaſt number of people crowded into a ſmall barren ſpot. But France and England, being in every thing different, and although they could raiſe a very conſiderable trade in their products, and particularly in the ſupply of their colonies, could never gain that great general commerce of buying and ſelling, freighting and commiſſion, which the Dutch ſo long poſſeſſed, and do yet poſſeſs ſo much more of than any other country in Europe.

The

The other rivals of Holland have no chance of equalling that country in commerce; Hamburgh is without an East India company, and has no colonies in the West Indies, beſides conſiſting of a ſingle weak town. And the powers of the North cannot, in the nature of things, make any greater advance than ſupplying themſelves with their imports, and exporting pretty much in their own bottoms; and even this, they will not be able fully to accompliſh: ſo that we may venture to ſuppoſe, that the Dutch have experienced as dangerous a competition as any they have reaſon to expect.

An allowance, however, I am ſenſible, ſhould here be made, for the evils which multiply, when a nation tends more to decline than proſperity. When they are advancing, every accident almoſt is favourable, every limb of the body is vigorous and active, nothing hurts; but there is an increaſing corruption in a declining ſtate, which no remedies can cure. This is a truth with the Dutch; but then it is alſo a truth with every nation on the globe. It is now the caſe ſtrongly with their neighbours the French; it was the caſe with their old maſters, the Spaniards; and probably will be the event in the hiſtory of all other people. Such ef-

fects, which are in common with all other countries, are not to be reaſoned upon; we can only examine the probability of thoſe events which depend upon themſelves.

The Dutch are yet, moſt certainly, a conſiderable people; and though not upon the increaſe, yet very flouriſhing. In poſſeſſion of much more trade, all things compared, than any nation in the world; they are more populous than any country in Europe; and continue to give that general protection and reception to all who will reſort thither. They are wealthy; and though burthened with public debts, yet are formidable, if they exert themſelves. They are in this ſituation at a time when they have long ſtood a violent competition in trade with all their neighbours. That competition cannot probably be carried further; it is not eaſy therefore to aſſign any good reaſons for their ſoon decaying, but many for thinking that they may long continue a great commercial people.

Political diſputes may certainly ariſe, that may prove more dangerous than trading ones. But it is not eaſy to name any potentate, who has the leaſt probability of making conqueſts on the Dutch. France, as long as they preſerve their neutrality, will have no intereſt or inclination to quarrel with

with them; but in caſe of a French war, other nations would not allow France to make a conqueſt on them. Holland therefore would never have to ſtand ſingly againſt France; England, and a conſiderable part of Germany, would be ſure to be in alliance with her, which would form ſuch an union that France, in all probability, would never be able to overpower. The decay of the French power is ſo clear and manifeſt, that ſhe has more reaſon to fear ſuch an alliance, than to hope advantages from fighting againſt it.

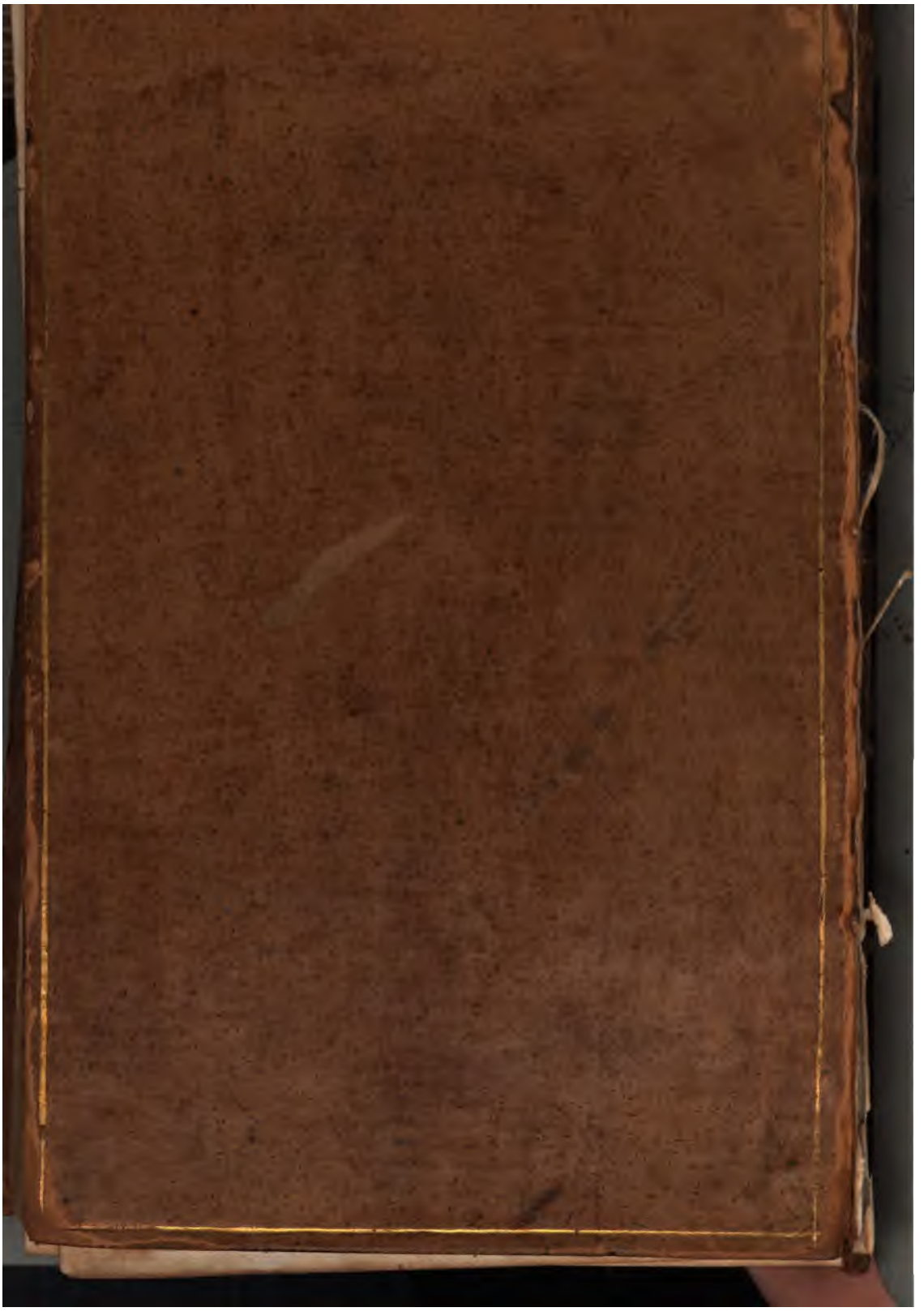
Some little diſputes have happened within theſe few years, which manifeſted no good will in the King of Pruſſia towards the Republic; but there is not any reaſon to imagine, that they will ever break out into an open rupture; the Dutch have nothing to fear from him. That monarch is well known to harbour too many ambitious deſigns ever to be allowed to march an army againſt any of his neighbours, without a force ſufficient to repell him being in readineſs: the powers of Germany would never allow him to make any conqueſts on the Dutch; and a war which will not bring advantages, will never be undertaken by his Pruſſian Majeſty. In the preſent ſyſtem of

affairs in Germany, France would undoubtedly march to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch; and certainly make no ſmall merit in future negotiations of ſuch an exertion of their own intereſt. But in caſe France and Pruſſia fell into an alliance, Auſtria would be equally intereſted in falling on Silefia, while the King was engaged in ſo diſtant an undertaking; to ſay nothing of the part which Hanover, and many other German Princes, would take.

There are no other potentates from whom the Dutch have any thing, even in idea, to fear. And upon the whole, there is not any probability of their being drawn into a war. The operations of the laſt were very general in Europe; and that between the French and Engliſh cloſe upon their frontiers; yet they eſcaped from taking any part. Nothing but a violent determination in ſome of the parties, to force them from a neutrality, by attacking them, in caſe they do not declare themſelves, will have the effect of driving them from their pacific ſyſtem; but ſuch a conduct in any party is extremely improbable.

From every view that can be taken of the events which are likely to happen, I think there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, the affairs of

Holland

Holland will continue much in the ſame ſtate they are at preſent. Their trâde will not increaſe; it may rather decline, but not dangerouſly; they will avoid any quarrels with their neighbours, and continue in wealth and peace probably for many years.

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